MERCVRIVS AVLICVS,

Communicating the Intelligence and affaires of the Court, to the rest of the KINGDOME.

The eighth VVeeke, ending Feb: 24 16[illegible]

MVSEVM BRITANNICVM

SUNDAY. *Feb.* 18.

THe Rebells intending a Reformation by the ſword, will ſquare their Church according to their Army; And therefore they thruſt all Trades into the Pulpit, ſince their ſhops were emptied for Colonels and Captaines. Particularly, one *Fox* a Tinker of *Wallſhall* in *Staffordſhire*, having got a horſe, and his hammer for a Poleaxe, invited to his ſociety 16 more of his Brethren, (above halfe as many as departed this world at *Banbury* Aſſizes) This Joviall Colonell Tinker with his ſixteene ſweet Brethren marched 7 miles to *Burmingham* in *Warwick-ſhire*, neare which Towne they fortified a Houſe called *Edgbaſton-Houſe*. But (remembring their Trade) they mended one hole, and made a worſe, for they pulled downe the Church to make their fortifications, and diſpoſed of the Bells to their fellowes of *Burmingham*. In this Houſe they have neſtled ſo long, that their 16 are ſwolne up to 200, which rob and pillage very ſufficiently. A man whoſe houſe they had ſtole, petitioned Colonell Tinker to reſtore his horſe, or to ſet a low price and he would pay for him; Tinker *Fox* anſwered, that *he muſt not reſtore the*

horſe for nothing, and to ſell him (quoth he) *I hold very diſhonourable.*

But no Tinkar whatſoever can ſpoile us ſufficiently, if you knew what Creatures we at *Oxford* are; for this laſt weeke brought a Booke into the world (called *A Looking-glaſſe for Malignants*) approved and Licenſed by the Committee-man himſelf who hath the Chaire on purpoſe. In the 37 page of this ungodly Pamphlet, you'l fiude theſe very words; *Moſt of the Grandees* (ſaith he) *eſpecially our learned and knowing Courtiers, Prelates, and Intelligent Proteſtants at large, are as deeply plunged into that terrible and unpardonable ſinne againſt the Holy Ghoſt, as any Apoſtate before them.* And this rare paſſage hath *Imprimatur John White* to commend it to the world, one who for ſedition, bawdery, and ignorance cannot finde his parallel, no not among his Brethren the ſeverall ſorts of Chaire-men.

Thus (unſatisfyed with our eſtates and lives) they are for downe-right damnation, and in ſo ſevere a way, that 'tis death (or bonds at leaſt) to teach other Doctrine. According to which we were this day certified, that a party of the Rebells in *Farneham* Caſtle, came to *Odiham* Church on Sunday laſt, and fetcht away Maſter *Holmes* the Miniſter, when he was in the Pulpit. Theſe pure Rebells rode not only into the Church-yard, but into the very Church, preſenting their Piſtols to him, and commanding him downe, ſaying with a loud impudence, *Sir, you muſt come downe, for we do not allow of ſuch kind of preaching*; One of the party ſhot his Piſtoll into the Church, and thereby ſo affrighted the Congregation, that divers Women ſounded and one *Buſhells* wife fell downe dead, a pretty ſmall evidences of this yeares Reformation.

MONDAY. *Feb.* 19.

And this worke is ſo much theirs, that they are proud and boaſt of it; For we had this day intelligence, that a Perſon of quality in the County of *Kent* was ſo plundered, chated, and vexed, by the Rebells for his loyalty, that being above 80 yeares old (with often removall and want of Accommodation)

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it ſhortned his life, as he ſaid on his death-bed. This Gentleman before his death was ſent to by the *Kentiſh* Committee (Sir *Anthony Welden*, Sir *John Sedley*, Sir *Edward Gilbourne*, *Blount*, *Scawer*, and *Sylyard*) for a Taxe of 2000*l*, which they demanded *for the ſervice of the State*; he not paying it, his Nephew (who was his heire) went to this Committee, deſiring the ſequeſtration might be taken of his eſtate, ſhewing them they had been ſo deepely pillaged, that 'twas impoſſible to raiſe one, much leſſe 2000*l*. The noble Knight Sir *Anthony Welden* replyed, and told him, *that he ſhould not thinke to get his eſtate unſequeſtred*; *and whereas* (quoth he) *you ſay you are unable to pay one thouſand pound, you ſhall pay Two, and ought to pay us Three, for we have killed your Unkle for you, and cauſed you to be heire*: The reſt of the *Committee* (like worthy Gentlemen) ſaid, Sir *Anthony* ſpake reaſon; the whole liſt of theſe *Committee men*, if their debts were paid, being not worth the ſumme demanded. Remember what this Committee ſpake to the Lady *Sedley* laſt week, and what now they ſaid to this Gentleman, and you'll grant theſe Taxers deſerve their places.

And this is the great motive (next to their obedience to the *Scots*) why their holy *League* is made ſo univerſall; for if men would pay mony without the League, it ſhould never be tendered to them, who if they ſweare to it, do diſappoint the Oath, which is to make them guilty and lyable to ſequeſtration. And therefore when laſt weeke it was debated, whether the Earle of *Bridgewater*, and Lord *Mountague*, ſhould have the *League* tendered to them; *it was reſolved* (ſay the Pamphlets) *that it was not neceſſary, becauſe thoſe Lords are Delinquents already*: And the *Scout* ſpeakes it plainly, *for* (ſaith he) *there was a debate about divers that would take the Covenant, we wiſh they underſtand it as well as they are ſenſible of the need they ſtand in of it, but we hope care will be taken that they be not eaſed, leſt the conſtant friends of the Parliament be too much burthened*; that is, we hope many will not take this Oath, for then there will be but few Delinquents and Sequeſtrations.

THURSDAY, *Feb.* 29.

Now becauſe this *Scottiſh League* doth ſo nearely concerne them, therefore the *Members* on Friday laſt voted Sir *Francis Willoughby* guilty of High Treaſon, for oppoſing it in *Ireland*; which they were quickely perſwaded to Vote; for they had intelligence, that Sir *Francis* had 800*l* in the hands of the Company of Gold-ſmiths in *London*, which accordingly they ordered to be paid into their treaſurie, and will give the *Goldſmiths* a Diſcharge by Vote, and that's as good ſecurity, as any hath beene given for many Millions of Money.

Nay, they goe higher yet, and (like modeſt Gentlemen) have voted the Lord Marqueſſe of *Ormond* guilty of high Treaſon (againſt the *Grand Committee*) for inhibiting the *Scottiſh* League to be ſworne in the *Iriſh* Army, and raiſing Forces againſt the Parliament. The *Members* at firſt made a ſmall ſtand, whether they ſhould impeach him as *Earle* or *Marqueſſe*, becauſe (ſayes one) *his greateſt title was conferred upon him ſince the Parliament voted the Great Seale at* Oxford *invalid*; and to give way to that Title were to depart from the Vote; but others replyed, that the Parliament heretofore had preſented him with a Jewell, as a teſtimony of their thankes for his good ſervice in *Ireland*, and had commended him to His Majeſtie, to conferre ſome honour upon him. Hereupon they agreed (my Lord Lieutenant is their thankefull ſervant for it) to impeach him as *Marqueſſe*, and not as *Earle*, for raiſing forces to ſave his Soveraignes life, and ſuppreſſing a bloudy *League* which goes about to murther Him; for as that infamous *Holy League* in *France*, under pretence of *Religion*, called in the *Spaniard* (which League was the occaſion of ſo much miſchiefe to that Kingdome) ſo theſe holy Rebels call in the *Scots* to reforme this Kingdome, that is, to invade it; and make this Kingdome a conſtant ſeat of warre; for ſhould God Almighty ſo puniſh this Nation, as to proſper the Rebels, nothing but warre and bloud would follow, as long as there is one of the Royall Line extant; whereas when His Majeſtie hath reduced

reduced these Rebels, the Land will returne to that blessed Peace it formerly enjoyed; which should worke with all men that wish a period to these bloudy distractions.

You cannot therefore wonder, if the gallant men of *Cornwall* set up a *Protestation* to match this *Holy League*, which doubtlesse will more oblige them, then they that onely sweare to be forsworne. This *Protestation* was universally taken by the Two Associated Counties, onely Master *Peards* nest (the good Towne of *Barnstable*) began to semple, and as their *Burgesse* taught them, began to consider their workes were yet standing, and looked as though they would mutiny; whereupon their Major (a sufficient Corporation Brother) commanded all the Towne to bring what Armes they could to keepe the Peace; notice whereof being brought to Prince MAURICE, He (and not his Ghost) sent some Troops of good Horse with these demands: *That after 7 moneths forbearance they would performe their Articles which were so slight their workes*, (not yet demolished) *to pay their weekely Contribution, to take the Protestation, and to render up Master* Peard. The Answer was all affirmative, onely Master *Peard* who could not without danger of his life looke upon *Oxford* (but when they offered to stirre him, still cryed, *Oh, Oh, my bloud be upon you*) hath beene able to runne away without the Physitians Certificate. The better and more loyall Inhabitants of the Towne doe desire a Garrison, which these non-performants have so richly deserved, that it will be given them; for the Association goes on so cheerefully, that *Barnstable* must be no impediment.

WEDNESDAY, *Feb.* 21.

The only newes of this day was an expresse Relation of another skirmish on Saturday night last betwixt His Majesties Forces in *Dorsetshire* & the Rebels, at a Bridge 4 or 5 miles from *Wareham*, where they were assaulted gallantly by the Lord *Inchiquins* Regiment, and some of his Majesties Horse, where they killed divers, and brought 33 Prisoners into *Weymouth*; in this

this action the Lord *Inchiquins* Foot, both Officers and common Souldiers expreſſed moſt gallant courage; for (the ſtraitneſſe of the Paſſe hindering them from the enemy) they ran through a river almoſt up to the necke to aſſault the Rebels, who flying faſt after *Syddenham* their leader, were as ſwiftly followed by theſe Foot, who wounded divers of them in this purſuit; for had not *Syddenham* with eight ſcore Horſe run ſo faſt, and by croſſing a River recovered *Warham*, this skirmiſh had made quicke worke with the Rebels of this County.

THURSDAY. *Feb.* 22.

Laſt weeke we touched how the Rebels were repulſt from the Sconce at *Newcaſtle*; the particulars wereof (among other) being this day certified by an Expreſſe thence: where we perceive that the *Scots* march was one of their uſuall cheats, ſpreading their numbers to appeare mighty; for which purpoſe they had a ſurpluſage of Colours, and their women (good Ladyes) ſtood with blew caps among the men. They came towards *Newcaſtle* in extreame haſte, for a Brother or two of the Towne had carried notice, that it would be a full weeke before the Lord Generall could come thither with his Army: This intelligence brought them ſo quickly through froſt and ſnow, knowing *Newcaſtle* Towne would make amends for all. But the noble Marqueſſe came thither the night before, *Feb.* 2. whoſe preſence begat ſuch courage in the Towneſ-men, that though the Sconce was not perfect, the *Scots* beating was. The Blew caps pretended they would take it inſtantly, terming it in diriſion a *Mickle Midding*, but at the aſſault they were glad to give every common Souldier 2ſ. 6d. a piece, elſe they would not on; and after had their pay ſo home by the gallant Colonell *Slingſby* & his *Towneſ-men*, that within three houres you might ſee a *Mickle Midding* of *Scots* lye dead before the Sconce. Our Brethren being thus welcom'd at firſt, began to murmure they were not fairely dealt with, and 'tis certaine Great *Alexander* himſelfe ſaid, that the *Engliſh* Commiſſioners had broke faith with him; for young Sir *Henry Vane*

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and the reſt promiſed 3 things; 1. That Sir *Thomas Fairfax* ſhould meet him with 50 Troops of Horſe. 2. That the keys of *Newcaſtle* ſhould be brought him to *Morpeth*. 3. That upon their firſt advance into *England* they ſhould receive a large ſumme of money; in all which they had failed, ſo as he ſwore a *Scottiſh* Oath, that *he would never hereafter beleeve in a Committee*. Among the *Scots* that were ſlaine one was a *Scottiſh* Lord, Serjeant Major to the Earle of *Lindſey*, which cauſed the rumour that the Earle himſelfe was killed: The Townſ-men of *Newcaſtle* who performed this ſervice in the day, would not be releeved with freſh men at night, but would have the credit to defend their own Towne themſelves. Every day ſome of their men run from them, which makes the reſt droope exceedingly, having beene drawne out with ſuch full hopes of a ſhort buſineſſe; nay (as ſome priſoners tell us) they were made beleeve that the Lord Marqueſſe of *New Caſtle* was dead, His Majeſty himſelfe cloſely beſieged at *Oxford*, (you may ſee where Our *Cloſe-Committee*-men learned their art) and all this out of pure zeale to Religion. Since the Townſmen killed 200 of the Rebells at the Sconce, they have made 6 or 7 attempts in ſeverall places as *Tinmouth*, *Hexam*, *Shields*, &c. but in all have beene moſt ſhamefully repulſed; At *Newbourne* (a place we cannot forget) the *Halifax* Forces gave them a good rattle; letting them know, they ought not to invade *England* twice at the ſame place. They give out they are Twenty or Thirty thouſand, which you muſt underſtand as if they ſaid *Thirty thouſand* pound *Scottiſh*; how they uſe that part of *Northumberland* where they quarter, the poore Inhabitants make pitteous relations. There were ſome 300 in the Fort when the Rebels aſſaulted it, which though (it ſeemes) ſufficient, yet they'll finde more there next time, if ever they meddle with it againe. The Lord Marqueſſe doth daily take Priſoners, 38 were taken the ſame night this Letter was dated; the Souldiers are generally deſirous to fight with the Rebels, and with Gods bleſſing on the moſt righteous cauſe in the world, will as ſoone ſee *Edenburgh* as the *Scots* ſhall *Yorke*.

FRIDAY,

FRIDAY. *Feb.* 23.

The *Scots* advancing ſo ſlowly on, makes them at *London* double their diligence, and therefore (being in haſt) their Lords ſuddenly paſt the Ordinance for the *grand Committee* as 'twas ſent up by the *Lower Members* on Saturday laſt. whereby all the faction have delivered up their power to 17 Select Members for 3 monthes, to *order* and *direct* what ever concernes the Plot; For the *Cloſe-Committee* having worne out divers of its cheifeſt Members, as *Brooke*, *Hambden*, *Pym* and others, they muſt make a new Election and give it a new name, leſt a Rebellion contrived many yeares ſince ſhould now come to nothing.

But his *Excellency* is nothing pleaſed with theſe 17 Tyrants, that will cut out his allowance as they thinke fitting, and make him more burdenſome to himſelfe then his Army of Commanders is to the County of *Hertford*; which County is ſo oppreſſed with free Quarter and Plundering, that in their Petition this weeke they told the *Members*, that divers houſholders were forced to pawne their goods, that they might be enabled to ſatisfie the Souldiers.

As for Sir *William Waller*, the heart-burning is ſo ſtrong betwixt him and Colonell *Stavely*, that it hath had influence on Sir *William's* Forces, who this laſt weeke mutined ſufficiently, ſo as Captaine *Guthred* and others came away to the Lord *Hopton*; Sir *William* having buried too many of his Souldiers, and (which is more) his Lady, whoſe Sermons are *Ordered* by the *Grand Committee* to be *Printed and publiſhed*.

SATURDAY. *Feb.* 24.

You cannot imagine the *Scots* Commiſſioners are aſleepe, who (as we are this day for certain advertiſed) ſent a letter to the *Houſes* on Monday laſt, wherin they told the *Engliſh* Members, *That the Scots Army had received but a fortnights pay ſince they firſt advanced; that they had undergone ſuch a March as never Chriſtians did before* (alas good people) *that the Army extreamly expected their money* (yes ſure) *That their Scotiſh Army in Ireland are in ſuch diſtreſſe for money, clothes and other neceſſaries, as 'tis incredible, and ſhamefull to conſider, That they promiſed to furniſh the Scots in Ireland, which if not ſuddenly remedied,*

remedied, will loose that little remnant they left. And (which is the chiefest of all) that if their Army in Northumberland be not constantly paid according to promise, they must expect no further advance into England. O this mony would make any one speak; a beggarly Reformation is not jure divino, nor ought our Brethren turne Covenanters for it.

Since these Scots Commissioners came to London, the weekly Lyes are growne voluminous. One (who never spake till this weeke) sayes, he will not repeat what hath beene related by others, but will onely excommunicate the last Occurrences of the Scots (This man should have a Chaire in Westminster, he speakes prettily) 2 Another stranger begins thus, O ye malignants, yee are offended that delinquents houses are sold for the Parliaments use; what, would you have your King be Lord of all? (Our King? then he is not your King.) 3 A third New-beginner sayes, That the Court oppression, and the Cavaliers strength hath forced the Parliament to begger many of their friends (Your Parliament) 4 That whatsoever league the King makes with His Subjects or Strangers is no longer permanent then he holds a strong hand over the people (Hold up your hand Sirrah:) 5 Then they all say, both New and Old, That the Cavaliers at Oxford have laboured to make the Citizens of London odious to the Scots, but our Brethren will not forsake the City. (Not as long as 'tis worth a groat) 6 That Colonell Massey hath taken Malmsbury, killed the Lieutenant Colonell, taken 300 prisoners with all the Armes in the Town (The Knight that told you that newes will tell more, as fast as he can make it) 7 That all men will acknowledge the two Houses have the supreame Power in England, except such Malignants who have lost their eyes (None but such as have lost their eares) 8 That before the Lord Generalls Army be recruited the Committee will cashiere from the Army all such Officers as are scandalous or cowardly (O spare a few, leave a Nathaniel or two) 9 That the late Letter sent from the New Parliament at Oxford, is for no other end but to divide the Parliament, City, and Kingdome (Parliament, City, and Kingdome, Poore Kingdome comes last of all) 10 That on the 24 of February the Assembly at Oxford will meete once more, and then

dissolve for ever (This will be a *Lie* to morrow morning) 11 *That the Ordinance is now perfected for Reforming the Lord Generals Army* (How farre does your *Reformation* reach?) 12 *That though there be many Cavaliers at* New-Castle *yet their knees doe knocke like* Belshazzars *at sight of the handwriting from the Marquesse of* Argyle: (Because of the Scots Prophanation and Sacriledge when they were at *Durham*,) 13 *That the greatest plot the Cavaliers now have is to make the Scots desert the Londoners* (I tell you 'tis impossible. whilest *London* is worth a penny) 14 *That His Majesty came to* Reading *Feb.* 19. *conducted by* 100 *horse and two Regiments of foot*, (what could you gaine by this *Lye*, were it true?) 15 *That Letters came to the Close-Committee, that the Scots had taken the new Sconce before Newcastle, and all the outworkes of the Towne*, (They tooke that Sconce and carried it with them towards *Morpeth* in a hand basket) 16 *That Generall* Lesliyes *son beat all the Cavaliers Horse into Newcastle, and tooke two prisoners when he assaulted the sconce* (Yes he beat them, and tooke prisoners when he tooke the Sconce) 17 *That as* Jannes *and* Jambres *withstood* Moses, *so the Malignants resist the Parliament.* (*Moses* and the *Parliament*? they are very like) 18 *That though the Cavaliers daily cry out against Parliament men for tyrants, yet in truth the Parliament is* MOST MERCIFULL (Sir, your tongue must be bored) 19 *That Sir* William Waller *will set the solemne League afoote in the West, unlesse Prince* MAURICE *rise out of his grave to hinder it*, (You said the Lord *Wilmot* had a pompous funerall, had the *Prince* none?) 20 *That the rumor is now corroborated, that the Scots have taken an outworke, though their Circumvallation is not yet consummate* (The *Circumvallation* is *Corroborated*, though not *Consummate*) 21 *That the Governour of* Westbury *and* Huntley *did betray those two Garrisons to Lieutenant Colonel* Wintour (Just as *Nat. Fiennes* betrayed *Bristoll*) 22 *That the Marquesse of* New-Castle, *and Generall* King *are gone into Newcastle, and 'tis odds they'll take the Nationall league and covenant before they come forth* (They'll take eyther the *Covenant* or the *Covenanters*) 23 *That the Earle of* Bath *hath withdrawne himselfe from* Oxford

ford (Speake well of my Lord, your pardons muſt paſſe the *Privy-Seale*) 24 *That the Banbury Malignants ſent out a great Party of Horſe into Glouceſter-ſhire* (*Banbury Malignants?* truly a pure good expreſſion) 25 *That the Garriſon of* Northampton *hath taken* 20 *or* 30 *of thoſe Banbury Horſes, which are Horſes of a great value* (Captaine *Lawſon* valued one of them above one of your Captaines) 26 *That the noble Knight Sir* Walter Earle *will ere long be made Maſter of the Ordnance* (Becauſe he found a way to traine under ground, and ſhoote white powder) 27 *That the* Hertfordſhire *Gentlemen petitioning the Houſe againſt giving His Exeellencies Army free quarter, had their Petition read, and a moſt gracious anſwer.* 28 And another ſayes, *That the Lord Generalls Army at Saint* Albans, *and other parts of Hertfordſhire muſt be ſpeedily recruited* (Then the County muſt quarter more then before, *A moſt gracious anſwer*) 29 *That Colonell* Charles Smith *rides up and downe Buckinghamſhire, and carries away divers honeſt men priſoners* (Before you forge you ſhould learne Gentlemens names, whether *Charles* or *William*) 30 *That this Colonell* Smith *ſaid in one of his plundering warrants, that hee would not leave the people a cocke to crow* (Did Colonell *Smith* ſigne your *Abercromy's* Warrants? *Abercromy* is here priſoner, and acknowledges his owne hand) 31 *That Colonell* Gray, *and Maſter* Murrey *of the Bed-chamber do claime the benefit of the Parliaments Declaration* (This *Lye* is growne impudent, it hath beene 3 times ſpoken to, but will take no anſwer) 32 *That Colonell* Maſſey *fell lately upon Colonell* Mynnes *quarters, and retreated backe with the loſſe of* 20 *men, having killed ſome of the enemies, but how many we cannot tell* (Maſter *Maſſey* will hang you for deriding him, when he is routed and ſore beaten) 33 *That Lieutenant Colonell* Wintour *went to* Weſtbury, *and* Huntley, *and brought away the Country people that did not meddle on any ſide* (Then your Garriſons conſiſt of ſuch ſouldiers as do not meddle on any ſide) 34 *That the Forces lately preſſed and ſhipt away for reliefe of* Plymouth *were very ſore diſtreſſed with foule weather* (Tis a handſome expreſſion, ſure better then to ſay, they were *drowned*) 35 *That an* Hamborough

rough *ship had intelligence from the Parliament ships which lye before* Tynmouth, *that* Newcastle *is certainly taken* (It was taken by water, but not by land) 36 *That with a thousand Horse Sir* Jacob Astley *and Sir* Charles Blount *have plundered all about* Windsor, *and taken more then would have maintained 200 Dragoons a twelvemonth* (Then they tooke nothing, but what should have lengthened the Rebellion) 37 *That the Garrison at* Windsor *made out upon these plunderers with* 100 *Horse*, 150 *Foote, and* 1 *Drake, and beat them* 7 *miles* (Beat 1000 horse 7 miles with 150 Foote, and 1 flying Drake? 'twas bravely done.) 38 *That one of the chiefest roomes in a house neer* Bristoll *Castle is trimming up for the* Queens *Chappell all next yeare* (Last week you said this house stood in *Dublin*) 39 *That Colonell* Venn *followed* Astley *and his Horse so close, that he made them leave all their cattell behind them* 40 And another sayes, *That for want of a few Horse at* Winsor *the Cavaliers carried away all the cattell in the Country, and have scarce left a cow behind them, having now such plenty that they sold* 10 *Oxen for* 6*l* (They left none behind and *they* tooke none away, agree like the Lords *Kimbolton* and *Willoughby*) 41 *That the Major of* Feoversham *and his freind Master* Thornehill *will ere long returne to* London (Yes when His Majesty comes thither; but Ten Thousand voted *Lyes* cannot stirre their Allegiance) 42 *That the Marquesse of* New-Castle *doubting the Towne of* New-Castle *unsafe, did ship all his plate and treasure into a Pinnace to goe for* Ostend, *but the Parliaments ships that lye before* Tinemouth *have taken it all*, (This Intelligence you had by that *Hamborough* ship that passed by when *New-Castle* was delivered up.) 43 *That* 30 *men in womens apparell with short swords under their Coats got into* Nottingham *to betray the Towne, but were miraculously prevented* (What? is not a *Lye* sufficient, but you must have a *Miracle* too?) 44 That *at the late debate for taking downe the Court of Wards Serjeant* Wilde *made an able speech* (Fye, do not jeere the poore Sergeant) 45 *That when the Minister reads the solemne* League *in the pulpit, every man shall stand uncovered*, Lift up his eyes, and make a very wry mouth.

FINIS.

Numb. 26.

Mercurius Britanicus.

Communicating the affaires of great BRITAINE:

For the better Information of the People.

From *Tuesday* the 5. of *March* to *Monday* the 12. of *March* 1644.

Aulicus begins still upon *Sunday*, and he hath writ more upon that day, if the Reader observe, then almost upon any day in the weeke, he hath writ a most ungodly exposition upon Colonell *Fox* of Staffordshire, and he spent it seemes the whole *Sabbath* from eight in the morning, till four in the afternoone, in *Analysing* that Colonell and his Regiment, with all the base and workingday language he could devise; I hope the Reader will observe, that he which makes no conscience of dayes, will make as little of Intelligence, and he that cares not what he writes, will not care what he writes, but this *Sabbath blasphemy* is enough to sinke the sheet without the weight of my pen, but we now to their eternall infamy at *Oxford* print the lies upon their own dayes. Aulicus his Sunday Exercise.

And first for his lies upon the Sabbath day;

That Colonell *Fox* was a *Tinker*, &c. Now the truth is, the Colonell hath so much mettall, that *Aulicus* conceits he must needs be of a brazen, or copper profession, and searching amongst the Trades, he hath pitched upon this, for I have jeered him out of Tailors, and Haberdashers, and Feltmakers, and now he is fallen amongst the *Tinkers*, and indeed I think this *Aulicus* is one of that *Black-Society*, for this Pamphlet is but a very *budget* of ungodlinesse, blasphemy, untruths, defamations, forgeries: but why do you thinke he railes so against Colonell *Fox*, because his name sake writ the booke of *Martyrs*, and gave us a Character of bloody Queene *Mary*, how she went in a robe of purple all her dayes, just like Queene *Mary* the second, she of *Oxford*; who though she hath not used so many Colonell Fox.

faggots,

faggots, yet she hath used more Gunpowder then her predecessors in the Catholike cause.

But let me tell ye a little of this Colonell, he charges him with carrying away bells; it is true, I confesse he bore both the bells and the bell away from many, for he hath done great service in Warwickshire, this is he that came in triumph with Fox tailes instead of Plumes of feathers, this is he that hath yarded himselfe so deeply, and at his own charge, that none of their Malignant Beagles can hunt him out of his Castle, and yet you see we have but the Fox tailes, they have all the Fox heads at *Oxford*, there is *Bristoll* the *Fox*, and *Cottington* the *Fox*, and *Duppa* the *Fox*, all craft, and subtelety, and villanous policy; but *Aulicus*, leave talking of Tinkers, I shall else tell you of your trulls at *Oxford*, of your Bitches; and here I must quote *Canterburies* speech in the Starchamber, for it was the saying of that little *Wolsey*, that *Demi-Cardinall*, but oh, should I reckon up the trulls that are about your University, I should reckon from the Colledge to the Court, from the Court, out of one room into another, till I should not finde my way back againe.

A Looking-Glasse for Malignants.

He tells us of Master *Whites Imprimatur*, to a book, called, *A Looking-Glasse for Malignants*: now the truth is, though the Looking-Glasse be not a Parsons, but a Vicars, yet it is not so meane a Glasse, tis a rude one, though not finely silvered in the language; but they at *Oxford* hate *Looking-Glasses*, they are growne so superlatively wicked, so Popish, so prophane, so irreligious, and so besmeered with the blood of the best Protestants, that they break all *Looking-Glasses*: Oh, did they see how the drops and guilt freezes like Crimson Isicles to their faces and hands! Did they see the Arminianisme, the Idolatry, the Libertinisme that is upon them, there were some hopes; but they breake all *Glasses*, and as I heare plundered a poore Pedler, because he brought Glasses thither, this is a kinde of a Vote that passed in the *Junto*, against all *Looking-Glasses*; for *Bristoll*, it seemes, gave this Reason, that it was no policie to let any such Christall Commodities to be sold neere them, lest they see their doings, and repent, and disband: and for Master *White*, upon whose *Imprimatur* he fixes such base English, I hope all will take notice that it is upon Sunday he writes, and he that abuses that day, will make nothing of abusing an *Imprimatur*, or Master *White*: Oh, they are angry at Master *White*, he hath set out a *Looking-Glasse* to the purpose, their Priests, their Episcopall and Prelaticall spawne may see themselves in that, and there is another Century landing too; Master *White* publishes them by hundreds to the world, he hath so many of the creatures, he is glad to disburthen the Parishes of them, and to make roome for better.

Oh,

Oh, it grieves them Master *White* has the Chaire, that he hath any Hie-roglyphick of authority; but for the Vindication of this Gentleman; I shall say this; he is one that makes his *Law* do service to the *Gospell*, he is ready to entertaine any motion that is stampt with the glory of God; and the publike good; he is prudent, grave, and serious, in managing the complaints before him, he is just in giving all lawfull liberty to the worst Cassock that appeares at the Table, he proceeds not but upon strong evidences, and then his zeale to the Reformation is such, that he sends them as soone from the Parish, as the Committee, this will be his honour in the next Chronicle; and for all their black reproaches, he will live a Master *White* to all posterity. Chairman

He tells us of a *Pistoll* shot into the Church, to the disturbance of one of their Ministers at *Oddiham*, but I thinke he spels it wrong, and it should be *Noddiham*; but to my knowledge this Pistoll he told us on almost half a yeare ago, and now he hath charged it againe, and would shoot it off in this Diurnall. Pistol shot

Now I come to his lies upon Monday, Feb. 19. *for you will say Sunday hath enough upon it in conscience.*

He tells us of the Committee in the County of *Kent*, Sir *Anthony Weldon*, Sir *John Sedley*, Sir *Edward Gilburne*, *Blunt*, *Seamer*, *Sylliard*; thus he calls, and then he miscalls them; but would you know the reason, they are so gallant and resolved to be unconquered yet, they know the misery of billetting men from *Wales* and *Oxford*, they scorne to sacrifice their County to *Hopton* and *Rupert*, they sit and order their affaires most *Kentishly*, that is, most stoutly, cordially, unconquerably; and Sir *Anthonie*, though he sit in the Chaire, yet he stirs the most; and for that story of *Aulicus*, concerning the young heire, and Sir *Anthonie*, it is as true as they have a Parliament at *Oxford*, and that his Majestie over-rules the Queene, and many of the like instances. Commitee.

He tels us of Sir *Francis Willoughby* voted guilty of High Treason for opposing the Covenant, and of eight hundred pounds of his that is seized on: this is right intelligence, who carried it to *Oxford* since they took the Covenant? but Reader, Is it not a just impeachment to take his money, that will not take the Covenant? and to make the goods at least capable of doing service to the State, when the master refuses? Sir Franc. Willoughby.

He tels us of a *Vote* against the Marquisse of *Ormond*, and of a warme disputation in the House about the title Earle and Marquisse. *Aulicus*, this is well remembred, thou hast wakened a Vote that was drowsie and sleeping in the House; I hope our estates will now quicken the impeachment againe, and make his treason as high as his title, his crime as tall as a Marquisse, Marquisse of Ormond.

thiffe: this is *Ormond* that had the *Iewell*, but a *Briſtoll ſtone* would have ſerved the turn, and ſuted the counterfeit Earle far better: he would faine parallell the league of *France* and ours together, but Reader, if he begin to make parallels, we ſhall compare with him; is not the old Queen Mother and her Majeſtie very like one another, the one ſprinkled *France*, and the other *England*; are not theſe warres juſt like thoſe in *France*, when the poore Proteſtants fought to preſerve their Charters, and their Churches? Like the Netherlands, when the King of *Spaine* would have invaded their Religion and Liberties at once, and have brought in both tyranny and popery? but now we are comparing, ſhew me who is like *Don Sancre* the old Spaniſh favourite to her you know on; ſhew me who is like the *Spencers*, the *Gaveſtones*, the *Empſons*, the *Dudleyes*, the *Mortimers*.

Brethren of Scotland.

He tels us of our brethren of Scotland comming to invade; oh how faine would he have this word invade to take with the people, he would put *Oxford* feares, and Biſhop feares, and evill Counſellors feares, and Malignants feares into the whole kingdome; how faine would he ſquirt in theſe infuſions with his Gliſterpipe of Intelligence, his jugling Pamphlet; but the kingdome know our *Brethren* too well, it is too late to ſcandalize them, to paint over their Armies with the colours of Rebellion and invaſion, when his Majeſty hath himſelfe received them as as his beſt ſubjects, acknowledged their honourable demeanours with his own preſence amongſt them, when this Parliament wiped off their calumnies in their behalfe, and are now in the condition and capacity for the ſame act themſelves, and Scotland is riſen up, and come to do that curteſie for us, we did for them, reſcue them from the popiſh, malignant, traiterous and abominable imputations.

Cornish Proteſtation.

He tels us of an Anti-league or *Proteſtation* taken in *Cornewell*: Reader, be ſure whereſoever God hath a Church, the Devill will have his Chappell; and we cannot have a league, but the enemy will ſet up their Proteſtations: we need not wonder at a Covenant amongſt them, there is a generation you know that make a Covenant with Death and Hell, and beleeve it, the *Cornewell* Proteſtation is a young Vow whelpt from that Covenant; but what will you expect from *Wales*, where the Goſpell hath ſcarce twinckled; alas it is no wonder to ſee *Wales* for the Kings ſervice, for they have ſcarce had any more Reformation, then the Common prayer book, or Maſſe-book *Iunior*, they have ſcarce heard any thing beyond the Letany or Abſolution, but yet they cry out of *Barneſtaple* that oppoſed it; it is true, there was ſome light in *Barnſtable* appearing, but they ſoone put it out, and left them in the dark, and plundered them for their ſcruple of conſcience; it ſeemes Doctor *Ferne* the Caſeman adviſed

them

them to it, and told young *Maurice* it was the safeſt way to reſolve them, and to take away doubts by taking away all they had firſt, and diſabling them for putting queſtions.

He tels us of Mr. *Perd* that eſcaped without the Phyſitians Certificate; indeed it was the wholeſomeſt for his conſtitution, *Oxford* aire to my knowledge would have done him much harme, and he is of a ſanguine and merry condition, and would never have done well under your hands, but now he hath time to eſcape both you & the diſeaſe, and laugh at you, when the time comes that the little Proteſtation ſhall ſneak out of *Barnſtable* at the approach of the ſolemne League and Covenant, attended with armies of gallant and religious ſpirits, that will bring their Covenant at their ſword points, and make you take it into your bodies, if you will not let it into your ſoules. Mr. Perd.

He tels us of an aſſault and ſucceſſe by the Lord *Inchiquins* Regiment, but he never tels you of the Lord himſelfe, who is retreated from his Regiment in diſcontent, and hath taken Sir *John Culpeper* in the noſe, that he is not made Lord Preſident of *Munſter*, but his Majeſty put another Lord into the Honour, recommended it ſeems by a Cardinals Letter from *Rome*, and that is the Lord of *Portland*, a Papiſt or Atheiſt: now let the world judge what religion carries it at Court, when *Inchiquin*, who hath no more of the Proteſtant then the firſt ſyllable of his name, and that is an Inch, but you ſee his of proteſtantiſme was neglected, and *Portland* with his Ell of Popery carryed it, and now poore *Inchiquin*, who was in a quandary and mammerdotes with himſelfe, whether he ſhould goe to the Bogs againe, or come to Weſtminſter; but the truth is, the Devill raiſed him a faire winde and opportunity, and he is gone away in it. Lo. Inchiquins Regiment.

He tels us of certaine forces of *Inchiquins* Regiment that purſued after ours up to the neck by water, but I hope the next purſuit they make, will be up to the neck by land, as they well deſerve that come out of *Ireland*. Purſuit by water.

He tells us of *ſtrange ſtirs* betwixt the *Scots*, and thoſe of *Newcaſtle*, and of many Skirmiſhes, and ſtill would faine riſe up into the relation of ſome thing like a victory, but he can ſummie it up to no more then eight and thirty, and an, &c. and he ſayes that every day they ſhall take more and more, ſo ſayes the Letter from *Cavendiſh*; but is not this pretty and ridiculous, the Popiſh Generall writ this Letter at midnight, excellent good Intelligence, betwixt ſleeping and waking; he writes not ſo much what they have taken, for that is certaine, they have had very poor doings, but what they will take, and what to be ſure ſhall be printed at *Oxford*. Strange ſtirres.

He tells us a *ſtrange ſtory* of our brethren, and young Sir *Henry Vane*, and fain would he ſcatter a Granadoe, but we are too firmely Covenanted Strange ſtory.

and united to take fire from his squibs, and for the Skirmishes, we shall give the Kingdom an exact relation shortly, we stay but till the Popish Army hath had a little better beating, and till the Spring and prosperity put in a little more.

Hopes. He tells us their Army hopes to see *Edinburgh* as soon as the Scots shall see *Yorke*, we hope and sooner, in the capacity of prisoners, but not conquerers.

He tells us of *Hallifax*, but it is too late, they have lost their possession, and we have not onely *Hallifax*, but *Hull* too, and for *Hell*, we shall leave them that to quarter in after this life.

17. Committeemen. He tells us still of our seventeen Committe men, and puts the name of Tyrants upon them, and then would faine stirre up his Excellency, this is a brat of the last weekes Pamphlet, these are the worst colours he can lay on, and I thinke the silly sheet and a halfe perswades it selfe, that it can laugh Parliament, and Lord Generall, out of their serious results and resolves; oh this seventeen men doth so choake them at *Oxford*, I told you still how they would expound upon seventeene, I hope I have the last weeke swept down the *Oxford* Cobwebs that would be sticking to this Committee, and poisoning this act of State.

For do you think they would take so much paines in this weekly piece of paper from *Oxford*, as they have done of late, but that they are sinking, and would hold themselves up by a Diurnall as long as they can.

Heart burning. He tells us of some *heart-burning* betwixt Sir *William Waller*, and Colonell *Stapeley*; it is true, Sir *William* hath a heart-burning, but it is towards *Oxford*, and you may chance be scorched with the flames ere long on your left side, *Hopton* is growing too honest for you, and his heart begins to burne too, all your water in *Oxford* will not quench it.

But he sayes Sir *William* hath buried many souldiers; not so many yet as died on the disease at *Oxford*, which your Physicians called the *Malignant-Feaver*, and printed it a few moneths since to the world, and the mortality with it.

Relation of her Majesty. He tells us of Sir *Williams* Lady that is dead, and her Sermons are setting forth; *Aulicus*, she is alive yet, and is making ready her Coach to see *Oxford* with Sir *William*; and for the book she is setting forth, it is not Sermons, but I suppose a *Relation* of her Majesties proceedings since she sat upon the *Crowne*, and the *Throne* of England, of her Dominion, and how long she hath been *Regent* in this Kingdome, when she first left consulting with little Dogs, and fall to plotting with the great Mastives of State, when she first forsooke her Spaniels, and applied her self to Spanish Brigles, such as *Iesuites* and *Digbies*; besides a short History, or little Court Chronicle,

Chronicle, that I suppose she intends to binde up with it, of the doings and dancings, and Massings, and Masquings at Whitehall, &c. With an appendix of *Iermaines* exile, and the causes that *Iermaine* is now made an Earle, and is raised up (Oh prodigious!) into his Majesties Cousin, even his Cousin Germane.

He tells us of a Letter from the Scots Commissioners to the House; very true, *complaining of an hard march*, very true, *of their distresses in Ireland*, very true, *and how they will march no further into England, if no better paid*, false: I told you he would never be able to tell a story true to the end, for there is not such a phrase as he reports in all the Letter, this is an *Oxford* additionall, a Paraphrase, a Commentary, or what you will upon the Letter; oh sayes he, this money would make any one speak, but not like you, who speakes indeed, but never speakes truth. A Letter.

He tells us that a beggerly *Reformation* is not *jure divino*, and that is the reason why they would set up Episcopacy, and Prelacy, that glorious and vain glorious, and wealthy Church government, and puts the Apostles into Sattin gownes, and Lawne sleeves, and 3000. li. *per annum*, and gild, and enamell the keyes of the Church, for they thinke nothing is so saving, and so powerfull, and effectuall as a Lord Archbishop, and a Bishop in their *pontificalibus*. Reformation.

The Intelligence.

SIr *Richard Greenvile* is departed this life, and is gone into the other world at *Oxford*, but all is well yet, he hath taken the Covenant, and six hundred pound with him in gold to bear the charges of a grand designe, but no more of this, I know something by Sir *Richard*, he is gone to *Oxford*, but not gone away, and is rid thither, but not fled, you will heare more of Sir *Richard* hereafter, the man is wise, and knowes the way both thither and back againe, but I date not censure designes of State, nor tell ye all of *Richard* I know. Sir Rich. Greenvile

The States Embassadors are come at last, though slow (but slow) in their returne; indeed they are *Hollanders*, not *Mounsiers*, skipping and frisking in their designes, they move in more state, and walks a more cautionary pace, and I hope we shall see them shortly, and have their company further then it is to *Oxford*; for they know we have the same common interest with them, and fights against the same tyrannie and popery; and beleeve it, Oranges may do as much harme in *Holland*, as Lemmons have done in *England*. Estates Ambassadours.

In Grayes-Inne-Lane there is an *excrement* of a thousand pound in gold found in a Chamber-pot; oh, here had been an excellent purchase for Goldfinders; but do you see the unworthy designe of the Papists and Malignants Excrement.

lignants, rather then they will give their gold to the publick, they will stop it up in private Chamber-pots and Close-stooles: I warrant you this Chamber-pot should have been presented at the Court, as a most rare device for conveying the allegiance and duty of some bleeding subjects about the Suburbs.

Oxford Letter. The Letters you know that came from *Oxford* to the Parliament, have such endorsements, and they equivocate in the very backside of their Epistle; you see the treachery is strong within, when it breakes forth without at the very superscription.

The House of Commons have very wisely and ably pressed the reversall of an Order concerning the publick liberty given at the debates of the grand Councell, and urge the Oath of secrecy to be hastned, I hope the Lords will consent to lock up the doores of the State, as well as the Commons.

Contents of the Kings Letter. The Letter from his Majestie, being opened; his pious and unwearied desires of peace, was expressed in the first line: but how far it is from making a peace, appears by that which follows, *viz.* That his Majestie is advised by the Lords and Commons of Parliament assembled at *Oxford*, to propound to the Lords and Commons of Parliament assembled at *Westminster*, that there might be a Treaty for Peace, &c. in full Parliament; how much this is against a Law passed by his Majestie this Parliament, for confirming this Parliament at *Westminster*, and what a dishonour, is put upon the Parliament by his Majestie, by putting those Runnegadoes, and deserters of Parliament at *Oxford*, in ballance with the Parliament at *Westminster*, let the world judge; The House of Peeres (before ever the Commons voted any thing concerning it) passed a Vote, that since his Majestie did not esteeme of them as a Parliament, that he should be writ unto in plaine English, if he did not come to his Parliament at *Westminster* by such a day (to be agreed on by both Houses) that then the two houses of Parliament at *Westminster*, must take care to preserve the Kingdom, in such manner, as they in their wisdomes shall thinke fit.

Doubt.

Since this government appears to be mixed, what is the interest of each?

Satisfaction.

The interest of the Monarch all part is a fiduciary interest of trust and depositorinesse, and though time and artifice had almost set it up higher by casting the other downe, yet when the ballances goe right, you shall see the scales will scarce turne.

Printed according to Order by *Robert White*.

AN EXACT 3

RELATION

OF

The last Newes from the Quarters

OF

His Excellency,

The Lord Generall of

The Scottish Army.

Dated from Sunderland *March* 12. 1643.

Fully relating every dayes Passage, from their passing over the River of *Tine*, their taking of *Sunderland*, and a vast quantity of Coales appertaining to Delinquents.

***With Propositions to the City of* London *for the sending out Shipping for Coales from thence: And sundry other Proceedings of that Army in their marching towards* Duresme, *and in managing the Siege against* Newcastle. *From February* 27. *to March* 12. 1643.

Printed for L. Blaiklock, and are to be sold at his Shop neere Temple-Barre. 1643.

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SIR,

I That not been want of good will, but of leisure and opportunity to accompliſh my promiſe, whereto I obliged my ſelf when I parted with you: I wiſh you knew how often I have fancied thankfulneſſe to you in my minde, for that great favour I found from you, but a ſtranger to me: Pardon my inability hitherto, and accept of this incloſed Accompt of the condition of this Army, and of the affaires of it. I am put into much haſtineſſe, otherwiſe I might add much of circumſtances, and relations of ſundry other matters: For the preſent you may know that we are Maſters of a vaſt quantity of Coals belonging to this Port, moſt of it appertaining to Delinquents, which wilbe (I hope) a comfortable ſupply to LONDON: But if you have any friends that intend hither for Coales, adviſe them to bring ſome proviſions for the Army, eſpecially ſix-ſhillings

Beer, Hay, or Oates: The Army is this day marched towards the Enemie at Dureſme, and his Excellencie intends to viſite them if they will ſtay by it. The Engliſh Commiſsioners intend to remaine here till it pleaſe God we can get Newcaſtle, which by Gods bleſsing, either when the Enemies Armie now in the field is defeated, or the weather a little warmer, will be ſuddenly.

Sunderland, March 12 1643.

Sir I am
Your very affectionate friend,
W. R.

An exact Accompt of the Scots passing over the River *Tine*, taking of *Sunderland*, and other Proceedings: With the present Condition of the Scots Army:

From the 27. of February till the 12. of March. 1643.

IT being resolved as most conducible to our affaires, that the greatest part of this Armie should passe the River Tyne, that so we might the better understand, what course the Enemy meant to take, and doe accordingly. On the 28. of Febr. with 15. Regiments of Foote, and 6. Regiments of Horse, we passed the River Tyne at severall Fordes near Bywell and Oringham; which if wee had not done that day, the sudden alteration of the weather had made it for some time impossible to us, leaving behind 5. Regiments of Foot, and some Troops of Horse, under command of Sir *James Lumsdaine*, Generall Major of the Forces on the other side Tyne: After we had passed Tyne, we found the River of Darwen so high by the sudden thaw, that onely half of the Armie could passe it on Thursday, the other part being forced to stay till Friday, when they also passed over with the Carriages, and so we directed our March toward Sunderland, it being very necessary for supply of the Armie, and receiving Intelligence, that wee should have that Haven

 secured,

ſecured, near which we came on Saturday night, March the ſecond: And reſting the Lords day, the Enemie croſſed the River and left it, ſo we entred on Munday without ſtriking one blow.

In this March from Tine to Sunderland, notwithſtanding the many ſtraight and diſadvantagious paſſages (which were ſo narrow, that ſometimes the people were conſtrained to march one by one, as in a ſtring: and if God had given our enemies hearts, we might either have beene cut in peeces, or ſtopped) but we found no oppoſition from the enemy, and ſcarcely obtained a ſight of them, onely a Body of Horſe appeared upon our Reare, at our paſſing over the River of Weare, at New-Bridge, but interrupted us not. We remained in our Quarters on Munday and Tueſday, taking what care wee could for ſupply of Proviſions in this Enemies Countrey, for ſo we finde it, not receiving any intelligence of willing ſupply from them. But it is no wonder wee finde not many friends, when there are ſo few them, the whole Countrey being in Armes, either willingly or forcedly: ſo great a power hath the Cathedrall here. On Wedneſday the ſixth of March the Enemy having united their Forces, and received an acceſſion of ſtrength by Sir *Charles Lucas*, who brought 21. Troopes from Yorke-ſhire, and by 1500. Foote from Cumberland, they drew their Forces to a place about two or three Miles to the Weſt of Sunderland, and ſhewed themſelves upon the top of Worme-Hill. This Army was accordingly drawne forth, and both lay at about halfe a miles diſtance, on Wednesday night in the fields on thurſday morning they were againe drawne up ſomething nearer, the Enemy ſtill keeping to the advantage of his ground upon the Hill, ſo that notwithſtanding the neerneſſe of ſome part of both Armies, being not above a quarter of a Mile diſtant, we

could

could not without very great disadvantage engage this Army, in regard of the impassable Hedges and Ditches betwixt us, so that likewise after the Armies had fired each other that day, they remained in the fields that night also; on Friday morning some little Skirmishes there was betwixt some small parties of Horse, wherein that little advantage that was, fell to us, taking some few Prisoners, by whom wee understood, that they had on Thursday night drawne off their Canon, and withdrawne their Foot, and left a full body of Horse which faced us in the morning till about tenne of the Clocke, and then taking the advantage of a very thicke storme of Snow, which lasted two or three houres, (and in as sore a manner sure as ever was seene) matched away, and this Army, through the ilnesse of the weather and [redacted] so great a strength of horse in the Reare, and we not supplied with [redacted] Friday night this Army returned to their Quarters. We since understand by good hands, that the Enemies lying in the field two nights, was almost as bad as a Battell to them, many of their Men and Horse dying, but more running away. Wee likewise sustained some little losse by the extremity of the weather, but nothing neere theirs. We heare they lost eight hundred Horse one way or other these two nights.

They are now in Durham, and this Army as yet about Sunderland, onely seven Regiments are (for the inlarging the Quarters by reason of the want of provision) on the North side of the River of Weare, toward Newcastle.

The Enemy on Friday night cut the New-Bridge, but it can be little disadvantage to this Army, which (being

now

secured, near which we came on Saturday night, March the second: And resting the Lords day, the Enemie crossed the River and left it, so we entred on Munday without striking one blow.

In this March from Tine to Sunderland, notwithstanding the many straight and disadvantagious passages (which were so narrow, that sometimes the people were constrained to march one by one, as in a string: and if God had given our enemies hearts, we might either have beene cut in peeces, or stopped) but we found no opposition from the enemy, and scarcely obtained a sight of them, onely a Body of Horse appeared upon our Reare, at our passing over the River of Weare, at New-Bridge, but interrupted us not. We remained in our Quarters on Munday and Tuesday, taking what care wee could for supply of Provisions in this Enemies Countrey, for so we finde it, not receiving any intelligence or willing supply from them [illegible] wonder wee finde not n[illegible] men, the whole Cou[illegible] or forcedly; so great[illegible] in Wednesday the sixth [illegible] their Forces, and recei[illegible] *Charles Lucas*, who brou[illegible] nd by 1500. Foote, from [illegible] s to a place about two [illegible] land, and shewed them [illegible] This Army was acco[illegible] about half a miles dista[illegible] on thursday morning they were against drawne up something nearer, the Enemy still keeping to the advantage of his ground upon the Hill, so that notwithstanding the nearnesse of some part of both Armies, being not above a quarter of a Mile distant, we could

FOXING

could not without very great disadvantage engage this Army, in regard of the impassable Hedges and Ditches betwixt us. So that likewise after the Armies had faced each other that day, they remained in the fields that night also; on Friday morning some little Skirmishes there was betwixt some small parties of Horse, wherein that little advantage that was, fell to us, taking some few Prisoners, by whom wee understood, that they had on Thursday night drawne off their Canon, and withdrawne their Foote, and left a full body of Horse which faced us in the morning till about tenne of the Clocke, and then taking the advantage of a very thicke storme of Snow, which lasted two or three houres, (and in as sore a manner sure as ever was seene) matched away, and this Army, through the ilnesse of the weather and [redacted] so great a strength of horse in the Reare, and we not supplied with [redacted] on Friday night this Army returned to their Quarters. We since understand by good hands, that the Enemies lying in the field two nights, was almost as bad as a Battell to them, many of their Men and Horse dying, but more running away. Wee likewise sustained some little losse by the extremity of the weather, but nothing neere theirs. We heare they lost eight hundred Horse one way or other these two nights.

They are now in Durham, and this Army as yet about Sunderland, onely seven Regiments are (for the inlarging the Quarters by reason of the want of provision) on the North side of the River of Weare, toward Newcastle.

The Enemy on Friday night cut the New-Bridge, but it can be little disadvantage to this Army, which (being now

now ſupplied with ſome Proviſions, which came happily yeſterday in two ſhips with meale from Scotland, and Captaine *Carres* ſhip of Cheeſe and Butter from London; will march to morrow, being the 12. of March, upon ſome Deſigne not certainly knowne by any but the chief Commanders. The Lord go along with them.

FINIS.

[redacted]

This is Licenſed, and Entred according to Order.

[redacted]

Numb. 3.

THE MILITARY SCRIBE,

Publishing his true Warre-like Relations to the PEOPLE.

1643

From Tuesday the 5. of *March*, to Tuesday, the 12. of *March*. 1644.

Dulce Bellum inexpertis.

WArre is an unpleasing Theam to declaime upon, neither doth our Scribe take pleasure in such a Theorique. It is one of the three severe Judgements that the Prophet *Nathan* proffered to King *David*, for his sinne, which he so much abhorred, though he had been a Warriour the most part of his dayes, that he chose rather to fall into the hands of the ever Mercifull God, then into the hands of man, whose tender mercies, if he be wicked, are cruell, *Prov.* 12.10.

This Kingdome hath been visited by sore Pestilences, divers times within these twenty yeeres, for the infinite crying sinnes thereof, and yet that hand of God hath moved little compunction and contrition in it, wherefore it is now just with him, to suffer it to fall into the hands of wicked and unreasonable men, to breed a reluctancy against Pride, Blasphemy, Drunkennesse, Whoredome, Oppression, prophanenesse, Ignorance, and other enormous and loud crying crimes.

And if this present bloody warre will breed no Reformation, the next Iudgement, famine (which is now fast approaching) will inevitably fall upon it; for men are plundered of their Oxen, Kine, Sheep, Swine; numbers of horses are slaine and spoyled; the earth in many Counties lies untilled, and what can be the events thereof, but pining want and scarcity; Pestilence and the sword make a quick dispatch, but languishing famine is an inexpressible torture, which God grant this miserable distracted Kingdom may never feele, to which purpose, let all men pray, that the Divine Maiestie would turn us from our evill wayes, and restore Peace and truth unto us.

But now to our promised Taske. That Iudicious Gentleman who writeth the Kingdomes Weekly Intelligencer hath published some particulars of the names and numbers of Prisoners lately taken at *Biddulph* House in *Staffordshire*, but our Scribe having gotten an exacter List from very good hands, desireth the reader to take a review of the Particulars, with some addition and variation.

The Names of the Chiefe men taken at *Biddulph* House, *Febr.* 21. 1644.

Wilium, Lord *Brereton*.
Mr. *Brereton*, his eldest sonne.
Captaine *Shackerly*.
Captaine *Francis Biddulph*.
Major *William Booth*.
Lawrence Booth, Gent.
Philip Bellot, Gent.
Captaine *Edward Bellot*.
Thomas Bellot, Gent.
Vincent Eyer, Gent.
Anthony Lancaster, Gent.
Edmund Manwaring, Gent.
Charles Manwaring, Gent.
Thomas Gaudy, Gent.
John Rathbarne, Gent.
Ralph Porter, Gent.

THe totall of the common Souldiers, who were also taken Prisoners there, were one hundred and twenty, these were all conveyed to *Stafford* Castle to be secured there.

There were also taken 80. good Horses, besides other five and twenty horses, which those Cavaliers had before turned out of that house for want of Provisions to sustaine them.

Besides the Parliaments forces gained their Five hundred Armes at the least, with other rich and considerable booties, and because that House

might

neighbour hood forward prove a receptacle to shelter their enemies, to the future annoyance of the Counties of *Chester* and *Stafford*, they have demolished it.

Colonell *Rosier* the Governour of *Gloucester*, hath been wonderfully rescued out of the hands of his enemies, in this manner: He went out with a partie of Horse to beat up one of the Cavaliers Quarters neere the City, and comming upon them, the Bit of his horses Bridle brake, and his horse carried him violently upon the enemy, whereat they cryed, the Governour, the Governour, and took him prisoner; but his Troops of horse advancing after him, one of his Troopers, who had been little noted for valour or activity, made up to him, fired his Pistoll upon the Cavalier that kept him prisoner, slew him, and brought the Colonell safe off againe, to the great joy of all his men.

Out of *Yorke* hath been certified from *Bridall*, that there hath been a great dissension between the Governour and Major of the City, about the quartering of the Irish Rebells there, because they were growne so insolent, that the Citizens could not be quiet for them, and the contention rose to that height, that the Major called the trayned bands, and the City to his assistance, and the Governour called the Cavaliers that guard the Castle and other places of the City to his ayd; and when they were likely to have grappled, an accord was made between them, and the Rebels were sent out of the City to quarter in *North-Yorke* and *Lincolne-shire*, in which Counties they are so outragious, that they take whatsoever they can lay hands on, and rob people of their monies, so that no man or woman dares carry any money about them, for feare of being bereft of it.

That Masse is sung dayly in divers of the chief Aldermens houses in that City, and that the Queens new Chappell, which is building in the Castle, is so speeded, that it is neere finished, and she is expected to come thither very shortly.

By an Expresse from *Hull* it is certified, that *Belasis*, the Governour of *Yorke*, marched from thence with 1000. horse, and 2000. foot to *Bradforth*, in the West-riding, where Colonell *Ashton* with his Lancashire Forces, and Colonell *Lambert* with his York-shire men were quartered, whose numbers exceeded not above thirteen or fourteen hundred, both horse and foot at the most: these small forces *Belasis* thought to have totally cut off, but they with Gods assistance, and undaunted courages, maintained a fight against his whole power for seven or eight houres; and when their strength and powder was well-neere spent, yet the two Colonells so much incouraged their souldiers, that a few of their horse and foot gave another charge upon the enemy, wherein they defeated them, and put them to the rout, and as the

Letter from *Hull* expresseth, slew and tooke a thousand of them, and drove the rest into *Yorke*: amongst those that were taken Prisoners, Sir *John Girlington* the false Lancashire Knight was one, who had passed his word never to beare Armes against the Parliament; hee had two great wounds upon him, that are conceived to be mortall: two other Knights that were in that battaile are since said to be dead of their wounds at *York*. As for the Armes, Ammunition and Baggage that were taken there, our Scribe hath yet received no particulars; but this one thing more he must adde, which is signified by the Letters; that if the Lancashire forces had played their parts so well as the *York-shire* men did, they had slaine and taken more of the enemy: but the Lancastrians fought for honour, and only to assist their friends, and the other fought for the recovery of their estates and lands, out of which they have been long expelled, even ever since the enemy got possession of the West-Riding. Thus of late it hath pleased God to give the Parliaments party great successe against their enemies, even to wonder and admiration.

Our Scribe will not trouble you with Sir *Richard Grenville* treachery and disloyalty, in running away, and seeking to seduce some of his horse; because the Kingdoms Weekly Intelligencer hath sufficiently discanted upon him; onely he observeth this, that though the Cavaliers pretend to shew of defending the Protestant Religion, yet they make no conscience of perfidious violating Protestant Oathes and Covenants: and therefore our Scribe desireth the well-affected party, that stand for the King and Parliament, not to rely or confide in those that take the Covenant, and have been heretofore noted either for Malignants, or Newters.

The Poole and Wareham men still manifest their Activity and good service for the Common-wealth, for they have intercepted and taken five or six carriages of Arms and Ammunition, that were going from Weymouth towards Oxford.

And the Wareham men have beaten some of the Lord *Inchiquins* Irish Rebels, that came to plunder for corne and hay, about Holmbridge, between that Towne and Dorchester, which the Wareham men seeking to get from them, the Irish swom through the River, and held them hard tack untill they had sent for more ayd to the Town: at whose coming in, the Irish were faine to make use of their heeles, and leave their corne and hay behind them: In which skirmish the Irish lost six of their men, and the Town three of theirs, who were slaine in the fight: but there was no totall routing of all *Inchiquins* forces, as some have lately Printed.

That Newark upon Trent is closely besieged, is without question,

from a Captain that came lately from *Plymouth*, went thither, to Sir *John Meldrum*, to request him to goe to *Plymouth*, to his allotted Government, who unto Sir John answered, That he desired him to have patience, for he hoped to take the Town in a short while, and then he would goe with him; and this Captaine affirmeth, that it is besieged on the South side by 6. or 7000. men, both horse and foot, and a Gentleman from *Derby* hath certified our Scribe, that the *Derby* and *Nottingham* Horse have besieged it upon the North side, and since he heareth, that the Besiegers have broken down the farthest North Bridge over the *Trent*, to keep such relief and supplies from them, as might come out of *Yorkshire*: and another Gentleman that came out of the North parts affirmeth, that he passing over the River of *Trent* about sixe miles from that Town, heard the great Ordnance goe off there very fast, and the Country People there almost supposed, that it could not hold out a week longer, because they wanted food and Provisions both for man and beast, and that they had no hope to obtaine any, either by land or water.

Mr. *Peters* is returned with his head on his shoulders from *Holland*, and took his leave of the Prince *Elector* at a Fast at *Delft*, kept the same day with ours, where at the end of the day, his Highnesse sealed the National Covenant, by lifting up his hand, and many more of that Court did the like. We may conclude that Prince as Round, as his brethren are Rattle, and as faithfull, as they are false. His greatest misery is, that by his Brethren he is sold and delivered to Jealousie and suspition, as *Joseph* to the Egyptians, but his fidelity may shortly free him, and they come to him for succour.

Our Scribe is certified from *Plymouth*, that the Towne is safe and well, and that the Inhabitants and Souldiers are in good accord; provisions they have plenty, and onely want some considerable strength of horse and foot, to take the field this spring, to keep their enemies from further attempts against it; for the *Cornishmen*, in pursuance of their late Anti-Parliamentary Protestation, are recollecting new forces, either to come against it, or to pursue some other designe, yet our Scribe heareth, that the generality of *Cornwall* grow weary of these annaturall Warres, because they have exceedingly exhausted their County of men, and they see little hope to prevaile in their enterprises, the hand of GOD having so powerfully opposed and annihilated their purposes and intentions.

And *Plymouths* hope is, that as soon as Sir *John Meldrum*, their new Governour is arrived there, they shall be able to doe some notable service abroad in the Country, because they suppose the Inhabitants of *Devon* will voluntarily come in to their aide.

Colo-

Generall *Hastings* hath had a great losse of his men in *Leicestershire*, as it appeareth by Letters out of those parts, dated *March*, 5. in these words, Yesterday at night, *Hastings* men were abroad at a Town in our County called *Hinckley*, and had brought in thither five and twenty honest Countrey men, from severall Townes, intending to carry them to *Abbey de la Towde*, and they had taken also about fourescore Kine, Oxen, and horse from the Countrey people; they likewise took a Minister named *Mr. Wainer*, whom they much abused, and threatned to hang him. All their Prisoners they put into *Hinckley* Church, & in a jeering manner asked them, Where are the Roundheads your brethren at *Leicester*, why come not they to redeem you? But the Intelligence of these things coming to our Town of *Leicester*, all our horse being gone to *Newarke*, wee were faine, every private Townes-man to spare his own horse, and so sent away 120. of our foot Souldiers, and fourte 30. Troopers that lie at *Bagworth* House, to keep it from the enemy, under the command of Colopell *Grey*, whom the Lord *Grey* hath made Governour of *Leicester*. These our forces being upon their march to *Hinkley*, took the enemies Scouts, and without much resistance, entred the Town, killed one of the enemies Captaines named *Malsmaring*, and foure or five more of their souldiers, and wounded nine of them very sore, took two of their Lieutenants, one Quarter-master, one Ensigne, 45. Prisoners, and 120. horse, released all the Countrey-men, rescued the cattell, and restored them to the right owners, and came home with victory and booty the next day, being *Shrove-tuesday*. None of our men were slaine there, onely foure of them were wounded, whereof one was casually hurt by Colonell *Grey*, because he forgot our Word, which was *God prosper us*, the enemies word being, *For the King*. Our men went on very courageously, and if they had not been too greedy of prey, they had neere taken them all, the enemies forces were to the number of 300. and ours about 150. This morning wee heard from *Newarke* upon *Trent*, the Besiegers whereof sent us word, that they had taken the outworkes, and one Drake, wee expect every houre to hear from them.

Leicester, March 5.

Our Scribe hath often heard this week, that Prince *Rupert* had besieged the Town of *Wem* in *Shropshire*, where Col. *Mitton* commandeth with a garrison, but he stayed not long there, fearing least Sir *Tho. Fairefax* should come down out of *Cheshire* upon him, and hee is since retreated towards *Gloucestershire*, to intercept the Provisions that are conveying to the City of *Gloucester*, which went from *Warwick* on the sixth of this Moneth, so that some action is to be expected between those Parties.

A Let-

A Letter from *Warwick*, dated *March* 4. certifieth, that on the saturday before, a party of horse went thence within two miles of *Banbury*, to a Town called *Adderbury*, where they took a sonne of the Lord *Leighs*, a sonne of Sir *Henry Gibs*, a Colonell and divers officers, two French Knights, whereof one is thought to be a Priest, thirty six prisoners, and fourscore horse; which belonged to the Prince of *Wales* his Regiment; some of the *Warwick* horse that stayed behind in regard they were almost spent, were pursued by the enemy, and were inforced both men and horse to get into a Church, where they preserved themselves, untill help came from *Warwick* to relieve them. The Warwick Forces lost three of their men, and the enemy lost many more, besides tho se that were taken prisoners.

Warwick March 4.

Our Scribe will now present you with such news as hath been stirring this week about the *Scots* at Newcastle: and the first came in Letters from *Roterdam* in *Holland*, dated *March* 1. which write, that two ships came in thither from Newcastle, report that 30000. English and Scots have surrounded the Town, that there are 8000. men in it, who threaten that they will burn the Town, and stop up the River before they will yeeld, and that the Town beginneth to be in want of victualls.

The second report is made by a gentleman that came out of Newcastle upon the 29. of *Febr.* last, and he affirmeth, that the *Scots* horse passe and repasse the River of *Tyne* at their pleasure, in the day time, without any opposition, but in the night returne to their Quarters in the Scottish Camp, upon the North side of the Town, that there hath been no late fight between the Armies, as was reported, only that two severall times some prisoners have been taken on both sides, which have been released and sent back again, and that if the Earl of Newcastle had not come into the Town, it would have yielded at the Scots first summons, and that if they should offer to storme it, the Garrison would give no great resistance. This Gentleman is a credible person, and liveth in this City, he got out of Newcastle by the help of some of his speciall friends there.

Tidings are come out of *Dorset-shire*, that some of the Garrison of *Lyme Regis* in that County, made a sally out to *Bruteport*, a Town distant from thence about six miles, where one of Sir *John Strangewayes* sons was quartered with some Troops of horse, to bridle the excursions of the *Lime*-men into those parts, where they took the said gentleman, together with four Captains, and one hundred and twenty horse. As for the further particulars of this action, our Scribe will relate them as soon as he can obtain them.

The Parliament forces that lately went from *Windsor*, have faced *Oxford*, and

and much affrighted the Ladies and Gentlewomen there. Their Commander in chiefe is Sir *William Balfore*, a Scottish man, who was once Lieutenant of the Tower of *London*.

This weeks forraigne newes consists of divers notable particulars, as that one Mr. *Daniel Oxenbridge* an English Merchant at *Legorn* in *Italy* is lately deceased there, and by his Will hath given 1000 pounds to our Parliament.

Next, that the *Swedes* have taken the King of *Denmarks* strong Castle of *Elsenborg*, that guardeth the Sound upon *Norway* side, and that they have also taken two Danish ships with 1200. men in them.

Likewise that the Emperour of *Russia* should have married his daughter to a son of the King of *Denmarks*, whom the Emperour finding to be base and illegitimate, cut him and all his followers, to the number of 24 persons, in pieces, and hanged him that made the match.

Our Scribe hath also received this newes from Dunkerk in Flanders, that a man of that Town had stolne out of a Church a great silver Cup, with 12. Waifer Cakes (called Hosts) in it, and hid it in the Snow; for which diligent search was made, but it could not be found; whence they concluded there, that the Angels had taken it away, and carryed it to heaven: and yet for this fact, the poore man was burned to ashes. That such of the English as fled over thither the last yeare, are between fear and hope of the issue of the warres in England, and would willingly return hither againe, but being loath to take the Covenant, they dare not come.

Further, that a Frigot belonging to that Town, was lately returned thither from *Bristoll*, where shee had gotten a Commission to seize upon all English ships that are for the Parliament, which being made known there, the Lords of the Town have imprisoned the Captain thereof, and question him for his life, because he had accepted of such a Commission as tended to the breach of peace between England and Spain, the ruine of trade betwixt the Subjects of both Kingdoms, and the raising up of more enemies, besides the Hollanders and French against them: for the Spaniards will now be carefull not to stir up more adversaries against themselves, having too many already.

Printed according to Order for *G. Bishop.* 1644.

HIS MAIESTIES LETTER,

DIRECTED

To the Lords and Commons of PARLIAMENT Assembled at WESTMINSTER:

CONCERNING

A Treaty for Peace.

With the Answer of both Houses thereunto; sent to His Majesty to *Oxford*, *March* 9. 1643.

Die Martis, 12 *Mart.* 1643.

ORdered this day by the Lords in Parliament, that the Printer belonging to the House of Peeres shall print His Majesties Letter dated the 3 of March; and the Answer thereunto sent to His Majesty from both Houses of Parliament, dated the 9 of this instant. And that no man shall presume to reprint the said Letter and Answer, as he will answer the contrary to this House at his perill. J. Brown Cler. Parliamentorum.

LONDON,
Printed for *John Wright* in the Old-baily.
March. 13. 1643.

HIS

MAIESTIES LETTER,

DIRECTED

To the Lords and Commons of PARLIAMENT Assembled at WESTMINSTER.

CONCERNING

A Treaty for Peace.

With the Answer of both Houses thereunto; sent to His Majesty to Oxford, March 9. 1642.

Die Martis, 12 Martii 1645.

ORdered this day by the Lords in Parliament, that the Printer belonging to the House of Peers shall print His Majesties Letter sent thereto of March 5. and the Answer thereunto sent to His Majesty from both Houses of Parliament, dated the 9. of this instant, and that no man shall presume to reprint the said Letter and Answer, as he will answer the contrary to this House at his perill.

J. Bruno Cler. Parliamentarium.

LONDON,
Printed for John Wright in the Old-bally,
March 13. 1645.

TO THE
LORDS AND COMMONS
OF
PARLIAMENT
Assembled at *Westminster*.

CHARLES REX.

OUt of Our most tender and pious sence of the sad and bleeding condition of this Our Kingdom, and Our unwearied desires to apply all Remedies which by the blessing of Almighty God may recover it from an utter ruine; By the advice of the Lords and Commons of Parliament assembled at Oxford, We doe propound and desire, That a convenient number of fit persons may be

appointed and authorized by you to meet (with all convenient speed, at such place as you shall nominate) with an equall number of fit persons, whom We shall appoint and authorize to Treat of the waies and meanes to settle the present distractions of this Our Kingdome, and to procure a happy Peace; And particularly, how all the Members of both Houses may securely meet in a free and full Convention of Parliament, there to treat, consult, and agree upon such things as may conduce to the maintenance and defence of the true Reformed Protestant Religion, with due consideration to all just and reasonable ease of tender consciences; To the setling and maintaining of Our just Rights and Prerogatives, of the Rights and Priviledges of Parliament, the Lawes of the Land, the Liberty and Property of the Subject, and all other expedients that may conduce to that blessed end of a firme and lasting Peace, both in Church and State, and a perfect understanding betwixt Us and Our People, wherein no endeabours or concurrency of Ours shall be wanting. And God direct your hearts in the waies of Peace. Oxford, the 3 of March. 1643.

May it please Your Majestie;

WE the Lords and Commons assembled in the Parliament of *England*, taking into our consideration a Letter sent from Your Majestie, dated the third of March instant, and directed, *To the Lords and Commons of Parliament assembled at Westminster* (which by the contents of a Letter from the Earle of *Forth* unto the Lord Generall the Earle of *Essex*, we conceive was intended to Our selves) have resolved, with the concurrent advice and consent of the Commissioners of the Kingdome of *Scotland*, to represent to Your Majesty in all humility, and plainnesse, as followeth:

THat as we have used all meanes for a just and a safe Peace; so will we never be wanting

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ing to doe our utmoſt for the procuring thereof: But when we conſider the Expreſſions in that Letter of Your Majeſties, we have more ſad and deſpairing thoughts of attaining the ſame, then ever; becauſe thereby thoſe perſons now aſſembled at *Oxford*, who contrary to their duty have deſerted Your Parliament, are put into an equall condition with it: And this preſent Parliament, convened according to the knowne and fundamentall Lawes of the Kingdome (the continuance whereof is eſtabliſhed by a Law conſented unto by Your Majeſty) is in effect denied to be a Parliament; the ſcope and intention of that Letter being, to make proviſion, how all the Members (as is pretended) of both Houſes may ſecurely meet in a full and free Convention of Parliament; whereof no other concluſion can be made, but that this preſent Parliament is not a full nor free Convention: And that to make it a full and free Convention of Parliament, the preſence of thoſe is neceſſary; who, notwithſtanding that they have deſerted that great Truſt, and doe leavy Warre againſt the Parliament, are pretended to be Members of the two Houſes of Parliament.

And hereupon we thinke our ſelves bound to

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let Your Majeſty know, That ſeeing the continuance of this Parliament is ſetled by a Law (which as all other Laws of Your Kingdomes) Your Majeſtie hath ſworne to maintaine, as we are ſworne to our allegiance to Your Majeſty (theſe obligations being Reciprocall) we muſt in duty, and accordingly are reſolved with our Lives and Fortunes to defend and preſerve the juſt Rights and full Power of this Parliament; And doe beſeech Your Majeſty to bee aſſured, That Your Majeſties Royall and hearty concurrence with us herein, will be the moſt effectuall and ready meanes of procuring a firme and laſting Peace in all Your Majeſties Dominions; and of begetting a perfect Underſtanding betweene Your Majeſty and Your People: without which Your Majeſties moſt earneſt Profeſſions, and our moſt reall Intentions concerning the ſame, muſt neceſſarily bee fruſtrated. And in caſe Your Majeſties three Kingdomes ſhould by reaſon thereof remaine in this ſad and bleeding condition, tending (by the Continuance of this unnaturall warre) to their Ruine; Your Majeſty cannot bee the leaſt, nor the laſt Sufferer. God in his Goodneſſe, incline Your Royall breaſt, out of pitty and com-

compaſſion to theſe deepe ſufferings of Your Innocent people, to put a ſpeedy, and happy Iſſue to theſe deſperate Evils, by the joynt Advice of both your Kingdomes now happily united in this Cauſe by their late ſolemne League and Covenant; which as it will prove the ſureſt Remedy; ſo it is the earneſt prayer of Your Majeſties Loyall Subjects, *The Lords and Commons aſſembled in the Parliament of England. Weſtminſter, the 9. of March* 1643.

FINIS.

6

The weekly Account. Num. 37. Marh. 13.

Truly and faithfully communicating the choiſeſt and moſt Remarkable Intelligence, from all parts of the Kingdome; From *Wedneſday* the 6. of *March*, to the 13. of the ſame. 1643

Wherein is contained theſe Particulars;

1. *The manner of the Scots advance over the river of* Tyne, *their beſieging of* Scarborough, *and the maine body of their Army at* Cheſter-in-ſtreet *in the Biſhopricke of* Durham.
2. *Eleven Troops of horſe and three peices of Ordnance belonging to Collonell* Bellaſis *Governour of* Yorke, *taken at* Stanford-bridge *by Collonell* Lambert, *&c.*
3. *Eight thouſand horſe in ſeverall parties going out on the Parliaments ſide to hinder the uniting of the enemies forces into one body.*
4. *The Dutch Merchants of Holland to receive the Nationall Covenant.*
5. *The Cavalliers plundering of* Amaſum *in* Buckinghamſhire.
6. Oxford *allarum'd before, but now to be ſummoned in earneſt.*
7. *The manner of the beſieging* Newark, *the extreame danger in which at this preſent it is, the laſt great defeat given there, which came to the Houſe but yeſterday.*
8. *The Report of the Swediſh Embaſſadour to come unto the Parliament.*
9. *A Report of the Towne of* Purford *taken by the Garriſon of* Lyme.
10. *A Report of the ſlaughter of the King of* Denmarks *Sonne.*
11. *The Advance of the great* Tartar *into* Podalia, *and of the* Tranſylvanian *into* Germany *with threeſcore thouſand Chriſtians, and a thouſand Turks, and ſome obſervations reſulting from it under the command of Sir* John Meldrum.
12. *The Archbiſhop of* Canterbury *brought unto his triall, and ſuddenly to have his finall ſentence.*

Publiſhed according to Order.

LONDON,

Printed by *Bernard Alſop*, 1643. 1643

The weekly Account.

Num. 37
March. 13

Truly and faithfully communicating the choiest and most Remarkable Intelligence, from all parts of the Kingdome, From Tuesday, the 6. of March, to the 13. of the same.

Wherein is contained these Particulars:

1. The manner of the Scots [illegible] the [illegible] of Tyne, their besieging of Scarborough, and [illegible] of their Army at Chester-in-Street in the Bishoprick of Durham.
2. Elaborate Troops of horse and [illegible] parties of Ordnance belonging to Collonell Ballaisis Governour of Yorke, taken at Stanford-bridge by Collonell Lambert, &c.
3. Eight thousand [illegible] parties going out on the Parliaments side to hinder the uniting of the [illegible] forces into one body.
4. The Dutch Merchant of Holland to receive the National Covenant.
5. The Cavaliers plundering of Amesbury in Buckinghamshire.
6. Oxford [illegible] in earnest.
7. The manner of the besieging Newark, the extreame danger in which of the present it is, the last great arfeat given there, which came to the Houseday yesterday.
8. The Report of the Swedish Embassadour to come unto the Parliament.
9. A Report of the Towne of Purford taken by the Garrison of Lyme.
10. A Report of the slaughter of the King of Denmarks Sonne.
11. The Advance of the great Tartar into Podalia, and of the Transylvanian into Germany with threescore thousand Christians, and a thousand Turks, and some observations resulting from it under the command of Sir John Meldrum.
12. The Archbishop of Canterbury brought unto his triall, and suddenly to have his small sentence.

Published according to Order.

LONDON,

Printed by Bernard Alsop, 1644.

THE WEEKELY ACCOMPT

OF

Certain Special and Remarkable PASSAGES

From both Houses of PARLIAMENT, and other Parts of the Kingdome.

From Wednesday the 6. of March, to the 13. of the same, 1644.

Wednesday the 29. of February.

What a pretty Flower is this Primrose in my hand? How early it hath awaked to testifie to the world the approaches of the Spring? How delightfully it throwes abroad its grateful sent, and by degrees perfumes the neighbouring ayre? How the glad leaves laugh on one another, and seeme to thank the Sun from whose influence they receive their Beauty and their birth? Surely (one thinks) this Flower resembles the condition of a happy Subject in the [illegible] of Peace, and secure in the certain and in the power of his Originall, is protected from the violence of the Windes, and the threatning Armory of the Hail. It is great pitie indeed, that being so newly so chastely begotten, it should fade away so soone? The [illegible] of its birth was the wombe of the morning. But [illegible], what have we to do with any contemplation on the Spring? [illegible] it false? Since our more obstinate sinnes have condemned us to more Winter of Affliction, and the horrour of a Persevering War.

The Dutch Embassadours are returned from Oxford, neither are they yet prepared to enjoy the blessing of Peace. It is a sad condition when other Nations should take their parts to procure our good, and that they should be of such a charitable disposition as not to apprehend their [illegible] to receive them. His Majesty desireth that a set place with safetie may be appointed, where the Parliament at Westminster and the Convention at Oxford, may assemble and treat on some speedy way for preserving this Kingdome from the brinke of desolation. The Parliament at Westminster is humble addresses, [illegible]

[illegible]y to return to his high Counsel at Westminster, which is the only means to make him, his posterity and Kingdomes [illegible] and happy, [illegible] there are they well satisfied (as indeed there appeares no reason why they should) that the assembly at Oxford consisting all of expelled or apostate Members, should be accounted of equall power and worth with his Parliament at Westminster, which by many severall Acts his Majesty hath established and confirmed, to be the only Parliament. To this purpose therefore when occasion shall serve, a Declaration is suddenly to be published to undeceive all easie and abused understandings, and to let them truly consider and conceive, that his Designe under the pretence of peace (for indeed his Majesty in his letter seems much to lament, and to indeavour to stop any further effusion of blood) is to undervalue and dishonour the Parliament at Westminster, and to preserve and advance the Anti-Parliament at Oxford, where nothing shall be either debated or established but what shall please the Members of the French or Spanish factiod, either to propound or to allure. We understand that there is an Embassadour preparing from the Swedes to the Parliament at Westminster, what his Embasse shall be, we shall indeavour to acquaint you with if they well arrive. We are informed also (that the Swedes may more fully prosecute their victories in Denmark, that the great Tartar who is a vassall to the Turk is with a mighty Army advanced into Podolia which is a [illegible] country, and lying on the North side of Poland, as Northwales in [illegible] England, by this means the Polander will be prevented (or falling [illegible] land (as was suspected) or for sending any ayde unto the King of Denmarke. We understand also that Transylvanian Prince is already entring [illegible] with an Army of threescore thousand Christians and twenty thousand Turks. I pray God that by the division of the Christians the Turks get no more [illegible] in Christendome. The Emperour indeed is raising a very powerfull Army to oppose them, he hath promised also to help the King of Denmarke with twelve thousand men against the Swedes, but by reason of this so formidable invasion of the Transylvanian Princes, it is very likely he may be [illegible] to make use of his owne souldiers to defend himselfe.

Thursday.

We heare as yet but little newes from Newcastle or from the Scots the malignants indeed would make us beleive that some victories are obtained against the Scots, and that they are driven into such distresse for want of bread [illegible] the country is so wasted that they can find but little here, but only what is brought to them out of Scotland; that they willingly would return whence they came, but to crosse this report, there is new intelligence brought unto us, that the Scots have both come over the Tyne, and welcome. It is the fate of warre that we may drink blood when we cannot eat bread, and I pray God that hunger which begins to threaten us in one end of the Kingdome, may not overtake us in the other, but the care and prudence

of

of the high Court of Parliament hath been such, that a speedy redresse will be given not only to the wants of the Scots Army now in England, but to those inhabiting the Province of Vlster in Ireland, for this purpose a Committee is ordained at Goldsmiths Hall to send our speedy provision for those in Ireland to defend them against cold and hunger, and also care is taken to provide them with five thousand Armes, that they better might be inabled to invade their foe, as to defend themselves And for the Scots who are come into England, and who (we heare now by this time) are passed over the Tyne in our defence, a speedy order is taken them with all manner of suply, and instructions are drawne up, that the Marquesse of Argyle, Sir *William Arvyn*, and some other Commissioners of both Kingdomes shall have power in Yorkshire, and the Counties more neare adjacent to Scotland to sequester the Kings, Quens, and Princes revenues; as also to seize upon the estates of all Papists and Delinquents, and to settle the Excise for the raising of monies for the said Army of the Scots, and to give the country satisfaction, for the free belletting of the Scots Army, according to the agreement of both Kingdomes at their first entrance into the Covenant.

The *Scots* also (it seems) expects the arreare of three and forty thousand pound, which is due unto them; There is no question but care will be taken for what is in arreare to our brethren of Scotland, upon their further advance and assistance.

The report of Sir *Thomas Fairfax* his besieging of Latham house in the County of Lancashire is confirmed, and that he is still there with the Manchester and the rest of the Lancashire Forces, in this house the old Countesse of Derby is said to be, and that she hath there fourteen Peeces of Ordnance to secure the place, and above three hundred souldiers besides Commanders; but whether the Siedge still continues is very uncertain, especially since we heare that Prince *Rupert* is comming down into those parts, and that he hath straitned *Wem* in Shropshire, and in it the quarters of Collonel *Mitton*, to be revenged of the many losses which he hath brought upon him. The Intelligences this week fell out so crosse and so very in themselves, that I know not how to reconcile them, or what to deliver for truth unto you. It is commonly reported that our Forces are now at Warwick at least five thousand strong, as a guard to convay the Ammunition from thence to *Glocester*. Prince *Rupert* all this while was said to be at Worcester, to attend and intercept the convoy of that ammunition to Glocester with at least five thousand of his Cavaliers. And how that Prince *Rupert* should advance now with his Forces unto Wem in Shropshire, and leave the Warwick Forces to guard the Ammunition in his absence unto Glocester, I cannot easily apprehend. And having now so strong an enemy as the forces at Warwick left behinde him, why he should break downe all the Bridges in his way, and so leave himself upon any defeat, in almost an impossibility to return to Oxford, I cannot easily beleive.

I

I therefore conceive that if he be gone from Worcester towards Shropshire, and if that indeed he hath straitned *Wem*, that he finder the weather and ways are so unseasonable, that the Ammunition from Warwick can hardly move. Also a strong party of his Excellencies and the Earle of Manchesters being now about *Podding*, is it probable that Prince *Rupert* would adventure so farre Northward, and leave the West and *Oxford* it self in so much danger. Although some to confirm this, would make us beleive that Prince *Maurice* Forces are comming down to the relief of *Oxford*, and that the Lord *Hopton* (if occasion shall require) intends to bend his power that way. But we know that Sir *William Waller* having now a recrute for men and money, is gone down unto his Army, with a resolution to put a stop, if not a period to the proceedings of the *Hoptonian* Armie.

Friday.

THere is Intelligence come that Newark is closely besieged, and that there is some expectation it will be this Week surrendred to Sir *John Molorum*, my some Pamphlets are grown so confident in the taking of it, that they have prevented the Parliament, and appointed a Governour of it already. Although we know the one to be true, yet the Authour hath assumed too much liberty in the other, in nominating a new Governour before it be taken. I doubt not but by Gods grace, the Parliament will get the better in this as in all other places, only me thinks it comes crosse to an ingenuous spirit, to grow upon futurities, and to ante-date Victories before they be obtained.

From the West we are informed, that the Lord *Inchiquin* is returned to Ireland, being weary of his misfortunes, or ashamed of the insolencies and outrages of his Irish soldiers. It is said that he is gone away in a discontent, because the government of *Munster* was conferred on the Earle of *Portland*, which preferment he aspired to, and that to satisfie his spleen, he will now with the Protestants in *Ireland*, against those that maintain the Cessation of Armes; but I rather beleive (if indeed he be returned into *Ireland*) that he is gone for the procuring of more Forces in *Ireland*, since some defeat which hath lately been given him by the Garrisons of *Poole* and *Lyme*, where divers of the Rebels were said to be taken prisoners, many killed on both sides? And amongst some of our men, Collonell *Sydenham* of *Poole* did excellent service (as his honourable wounds can witnesse) being shot through and through.

Satterday.

WE hear that a party of the Cavaliers came to *Antwerpen* on Wednesday last, and plundered the Town from one end of it to the other, having plundered it of all things which they found necessary for the use of man; But little credit is to be given to it. There is a report that there is two thousand Irish landed more in Wales, and that fifteen hundred more comming over were drowned in the way; suffering the losse of their own lives by the element

of

of mercy, for the insupportable injuries done and intended to be done to others by the Element of fire.

The House of Commons hath moved the House of Peeres, that the Oath of Secresie may be administred, urging the many weighty reasons that did induce them to it, and that the Order might be repealed concerning the publike liberty given to both Houses to sit at the debates of the Councell of State; the speedy concurrence of the Lords herein, will suddainly (it is thought) be manifested.

Monday.

YOu heard the last Week that Collonel *Cromwell* gave the Enemies an Alarm at *Oxford*. Sir *Will. Waller* (as we told you being sufficiently secured with men and money) is gone down unto his Army. The London Brigade is to advance from *Farnham* presently unto his assistance. The Earle of Manchester with a considerable power is about *Reading*. It is conceived that Oxford it selfe will ere it be long not onely be affrighted with alarums, but summoned in earnest, and if the weather will give leave, there will some great actions of importance suddainly be performed, to cut off Prince *Rupert* from those parts where he is, and to facilitate the Convoy of the Ammunition to *Gloster*.

This day there came forth an Ordinance for the better sending of the National Covenant to the three Kingdoms, and it is not onely to be taken by all that are residents within the Kingdome, but to all the Merchants that are now in Holland, and to that purpose, Master *Scot* Member of the Members of the House of Commons, and their Agents there, hath authority to render the said Oath to all English Merchants in Holland and to return the names of all those that do refuse it. This indeed will be a work that may conduce much unto the good of the Parliament and Kingdome, for hereby all the Delinquents there will be described, and their estates being here in London, they may be prosecuted and punished accordingly as Malignants.

This day came forth an Ordinance of the Lords and Commons assembled in Parliament, for the upholding of the Government and Fellowship of Merchants trading in the Seat of *Emporie*, for the maintaining of Cloath and all Woollen manufactures, as also for the vending of Tinne, Leade, and all other such commodities of this Kingdome.

Tuesday.

WE have now received some Intelligence from Scotland, which because it is good newes, we will make haste to impart it. We are now certainly informed that they are come over the Tine. They were so straitned for Provision (the Country being extremely harrassed by reason of the War) that they were inforced to inlarge their quarters. They came over the River about some sixteen miles from Newcastle, where the River was most passable. They were then in four Brigades and a half, amounting to the number of fifteen thousand men. There was no such difficulty in their fording the

River

River as is reported. We hear also, and we are sorry that we have no more room to acquaint you with it, that a part of the Scots Army hath taken Scarborough. The main body of them are at *Chester-in-the-street* in the Bishoprick of Durham, the Country (siding always with the stronger part) comes in apace unto them. There is no doubt but you will ere it be long, have full intelligence, and ships laden with the news of victory and Coals. We have received also Intelligence that Collonel *Lambert* pursuing his successe, hath seised on eleven, some say but eight Troops of the Enemies horse, which belonged to *Belasses* Governour of York. According to the manner of the Kings men in the Northern Counties, they were not above twenty in a troop. It is also confirmed that three Peeces of Ordnance were taken at Stainford Bridge in Yorkshire. There is a report also, that a party issuing out of Newark were routed, and two hundred taken prisoners, but there is another report concerning Prince *Rupert*, which because it is conceived to be false, I forbear in this place to insert it. You may well wonder that in one sheet I present prince *Rupert* sometimes at Worcester, and by and by in Shropshire; and now in the Rere of this page, that he is advanced to the reliefe of Newark. You must consider, that as the Tragedy moves, the Scene must alter. We hear againe (since this pen was last in the inke) that the Earle of Manchester hath sent two thousand horse to restrengthen the Siedge at Newark. The parliaments forces have made their approaches so near, and are come so close under the walles of Newark, that the Canon can do them no harm.

We hear that the King of Denmark sent his Son unto the Emperour of Muscovia, whose daughter he was to marry, which the Swedes understanding surprised him in the way, and bereaved him of his life.

Sir *William Balfour* hath lately fain on some of the plundering Cavaleers that issued out from Basing House, and forced them to retreat with the losse of many of their lives: It is since reported, that he hath taken many troopes of horse, and sixe Carriages laden with provision.

The Archbishop of Canterbury (without any further title of reproach) was indeed brought this day to his Tryall, but after his Examination upon several Charges or Interrogatories, he was recommended to the Tower, To-morrow he is to appeare againe, what his end will be, will shortly be determined.

Gentlemen if (in the delivering of these Accounts unto you) the method seemes rude and imperfect, I must beseech you to consider that it is more agreeable to the distraction of the times. I shall leave them therefore to some more able pen, by which the truth may peradventure be more finely, but (I believe) will never be more faithfully delivered.

FINIS.

Numb. 47.

THE KINGDOMES Weekly Intelligencer:

SENT ABROAD

To prevent mis-information.

From Wednesday the 6. of Mar. to Wednesday the 13. of Mar. 1644.

THis week (as indeed every week since his Majestie called the bloody Irish Rebells Subjects) hath produced good effects to the Parliaments advantage. In Leicestershire, the Honorable the Lord *Gray* of *Grey* his forces hath done great service, Colonell *Gray* the Governour of Leicester, understanding that *Hastings* had sent forth three hundred horse, and an hundred Dragoones on a Party, to drive the cattell, and stock of the Countrey before them, commanded out a Party to encounter with them; and at seven at night Mar. 3. this Gallant Gentleman fell upon the enemy in their quarters at Hinkley in Leicestershire; who had so barricadoed the Passages into the Towne, that the entrance proved difficult, till Captaine *Fitz-Garret*, a valiant Irishman, and

Protestant, with the Forlorne-Hope, forced his passage to the Crosse in the Towne, and forced the enemy to a disorderly retreat the back way; who rallied together in the field, and stood a Charge of Captaine *Bingleys*, and Captaine *Bodleys* Troops, who routed them, took an hundred and fifty Horse, besides Armes; fourty seven Prisoners, rescued two Ministers, and thirty Country-men that had taken the Covenant, whom the enemy had seized on, and had tied two and two together, and also rescued all the Cartell, and Carriers-Packs, which *Hastings* the Rob-Carrier had seized on, and restored most of them to the owners. Of the enemies side, besides Common Souldiers, Captain *Manwaring* and other Officers were slain, Lieutenant *Gray*, Lieutenant *Rawlins*, and Quarter-master *Dickens*, besides the Common Souldiers that were taken prisoners, and one Trumpeter with a silver Trumpet, conceived to be one of Prince *Griffiths* Trumpeters, that basely deserted him.

From the siege before Newarke it is certified by severall Letters, Dated at the Campe, Mar. 8. 1643. That they had beaten the enemy from their Out-workes, and gained them, and all their Bridges, and were within Pistoll-shot of the Towne, and with one Granado they shot into the Towne, eight people were slaine, there are neere upon eight thousand horse and foot before the Towne, Sir *John Meldrum* and the Derbyshire forces on the North side, the Lincolnshire forces, commanded by Colonell *King*, the Norfolke and Suffolke forces, commanded by that faithfull servant of the Commonwealth, Colonell *Hobbard*; and the Nottingham and Leicester forces on the other side: All the Letters say, that within eight dayes (if not six) they will, by Gods blessing, be Master of the Towne: Sir *Charles Lucas* sallied out of Belvoir, with an intention to relieve the Towne, but was beaten back with losse.

There-

There is conceived to be in the Town of Newark, plundred goods, and the Plate Treasure, and other goods of all Malignants in Derbyshire, Nottinghamshire, Lincolnshire, and Rutlandshire, to the value of two hundred thousand pounds, which doth so annimate the Souldiers, that they are likely to carry the Towne within lesse then the time mentioned.

They are past all reliefe, for his Majestie his hands are so full, that he can send none to their reliefe: for besides the defeate given in Leicestershire, and the taking of Sir *Alexander Dentons* house in Buckinghamshire, and the taking of Prince *Charles* his Troope by Colonell *Beere* neer Banbury, Colonell *Cromwell* hath driven from the Quarters neer Oxford their cattell and sheepe, and left them naked of provision; besides he is now on a designe to divert Prince *Rupert* from Wem, and Sir *William Belfore* is between Basing an Oxford with another party, which so amazes the Cavaliers at Oxford that they know not which way to turne; and may give Newarke for lost.

As soone as Newarke is taken, which by the next, I hope to give you good assurance of: the Parliaments forces march towards Doncaster, where Colonell *Faines* a vain Gentleman, is Governour; he hath twenty thousand pounds in lead, which our Souldiers, will make good money of, and hang him for deserting the Parliament, betweene a paire of Millstones, of which he hath plundred good store.

Whereas there was a report that two thousand Scots were landed in Yorke wolds. It was a mistake for two hundred foot souldiers being sent from Yarmouth to Sir *William Constable* at Birdlington, the Alarme was given at York that two thousand Scots were landed, which so terrified them at York, that they were ready to mutiny.

For the Scots Army, Monday the 11. of March, certaine Intelligence is come to the Parliament that they passed over

Fyne nine dayes since, and have possessed themselves of Sunderland, and of Coales at Lambton and Lumley worth twenty thousand pounds, and that the Earle of Newcastle is retreated to Darneton: before the next weekes Intelligence, I hope you will hear Newcastle is in the Parliaments power.

Though Prince *Rupert* be with an Army about Wem, yet he dares not offend the Towne, and Colonell *Mitton* within these six dayes fell upon the enemy, and tooke sixteene of Prince *Rupert* Troopers; besides, Sir *william Fairfax* is commanded by Sir *Thomas Fairfax*, together with a party of Cheshire men, to relieve Wem with men Armes and Ammunition.

The Kingdom may see what a benefit they have by the setling of a Committee of both Kingdoms, with a power for the mannaging of the war: for his Excellency with their concurrent advice, hath at this present seven severall designes in hand, all at one time: *viz.* Sir *William Wallers* Brigade against *Hopton*, Colonell *Belfores*, party, Colonell *Cromwells* partie, Colonell *Beeres* partie: The Warwick and Coventry horse on a designe; Colonell *Lamberts* forces in Yorkshire, and Sir *Thomas Fairfaxes* partie of horse and foot against Prince *Rupert*.

What service Colonell Sir *william Belfore* hath done, since he went out, you will heare within a day or two, though this for the present, that he hath given a great defeat to the enemy neere Basing, killed twenty on the place, routed two hundred horse, and taken severall prisoners.

Though much hath beene said in Print of the Kings Letter, I will adventure to contribute a little: It was thus directed.

C. R.

C. R. To the *Lords* and *Commons* of Parliament at WESTMINSTER Assembled.

C. R.

OUt of our most tender and pious sense of the sad and bleeding condition of this Our Kingdome, and Our unwearied desires to apply all remedies, which by the blessing of Almighty God may recover it from an utter ruine, by the advice of the Lords and Commons of Parliament assembled at Oxford, We doe propound and desire, that a convenient number of fit persons may be appointed and authorized by you, to meet with all convenient speed at such places as you shall nominate, with an equall number of fit persons whom we shall authorize and appoint, to treat on the way and meanes to settle the present distractions of this Our Kingdome, and to procure an happy peace; and particularly how all the Members of both Houses may securely meet in a free and full convention of Parliament, there to treat, consult, and agree, upon such things as may conduce to the maintenance of the true reformed Protestant Religion, with due consideration of all just and reasonable ease of tender consciences, to the setling & maintaining of our just Rights and Prerogatives, of the Rights and Priviledges of Parliament, the Lawes of the Land, the Liberty and Property of the Subject, and all other expedients that may conduce to the happie end of a firme and lasting peace both in Church and State, and a perfect understanding betweene Us and Our people, wherein no endeavour and contrivance of Ours shall be wanting.

The

The Honourable the House of Peeres, did so recent the language of this Letter, by putting those assembled at *Oxford* in an equall ballance with the Parliament here, that they expressed their sense of it to this purpose, delivered by his Excellency the Earle of *Essex*.

That the Lords had observed in this Letter from his Majestie amongst other things that was propounded in it, was by the advice of the Lords and Commons of Parliament assembled at Oxford, which is the very same title given to this Parliament. It putteth them at Oxford in an equall condition with the Parliament here, though they be persons which have contrary to their duties deserted the Parliament, and have contributed to the maintenance of the warre against it. That their Lordships therefore offer, that a Letter be written in plaine and humble language to his Majesty, represent up to him amongst other things, that the continuance of this Parliament is established by a Law made by himselfe, and that as we are sworne to our Allegiance, so is his Majestie to the Lawes. And that both Houses will with their lives and fortunes, maintaine this Parliament. And that as hitherto they have used all meanes for a just and safe peace, so they will never be wanting. And that the only meanes left to make his Majestie and his posterity happie, is to come to the *Parliament of England assembled at Westminster* by such a day. Otherwise they must use such meanes, and make such provisions for the kingdome, as in the wisdome of the two Houses of Parliament shall be made necessary.

With what acclamation this speech of his Excellencies was received, those that were present in the Painted Chamber were eare-witnesses.

As soone as this was communicated to the Commons, they concurred with the Lords, and referred it to the Committee

of

both Kingdomes for penning the Letter, who have brought the same in, and is past both Houses, and on Saturday the ninth of March it was sent to the King, which is to come forth in print very suddenly, together with a Declaration to the Kingdome, and therefore it is not fit to publish it beforehand.

Only take this passage, that the seting a prefixed day to his Majestie to come in to his Parliament, is omitted, till such time as by a concurrent advice from both Kingdomes in their greatest Councels it be concluded on.

There is a confirmation of the Scots being over Tine, and quartered at Sunderland by an Expresse come to the Committee of both Kingdomes, Monday the eleventh of February, being in number about 15000 Horse and Foot, the residue being left on the North side of Newcastle, to hinder provisions that way for going to the Towne, as the Army on this side doth on the South.

By the next, expect to heare not only of the surrender of Newarke, but of Newcastle, for they have not ten dayes victuals in the each of the Townes.

Aulicus in his last weeke, would have the Kingdome to beleeve the Scots were beaten back to Alnewick twenty five miles beyond Newcastle, and that Generall *Lesley* was weary of the businesse. There is nothing left them at Oxford to support their Cause, but lying, and to pretend peace when none is intended: *Aulicus* his intelligence is confirmed by a Letter from his Brother *Nicholas*, for by a Letter dated 7 *Martii*, subscribed *Edward Nicholas* to Master *Taulpott* Agent for the King at Venice; he is pleased to informe his friend that 2000 Scots were slaine, and the Armie enforced to retreat: you may now know from whom *Aulicus* hath his Intelligence weekly.

There

There is an expresse from Hull, and another from Sunderland, come to the Parliament the twelfth of March, with severall Letters, to this purpose: That the Scots were at Sunderland and Durham, 3. March. 1643. That they aduanced to Hartlepoole to pursue the flying Popish Army, and with two thousand men have besieged it towards the land, and have summoned the Governour thereof: From Hull they write, by Letters dated 8. Mar. That by Lord *Fairfax* hath taken Stamford-Bridge, within eight miles of York, and three peece of Ordnance, and routed the enemy in the East-Riding; That Colonell *Lambert* hath taken eleven Troopes of Horse in the West-Riding, and pursued the enemy towards York: That Generall *King* and Sir *Thomas Glenham* are sicke; That all the honest and Religious people in Yorke are turned out of the *City*, and their goods seized on, and particularly, Sir *Thomas Widdrington*, his Lady and children: Captaine *Cranley* writes from Birdlington that he sent his long boate a shore to Sunderland, and that the Scots were in good condition, and that the Apostate Sir *Hugh Cholmley* hath burnt part of Whitby, and that he put some of the Townmen to the sword, and that in the meane time Sir *William Constable*, laid Siege to Scarborough on the land side.

Printed according to Order for Robert White.

A HELPE TO Christian Fellowship:

OR,

A Discourse tending to the advancement and spirituall improvement of holy Societie.

WHEREIN

The practise of it is commended,
1. *In the communicating or imparting of their gifts and graces.*
2. *In their walking together in the ordinances of Christ.*
3. *In a mutuall serviceablenesse to one another.*

The particular Graces necessary to the qualifying of Christians for it, are propounded.

And an Invitation unto it is urged by some motives from the benefit and pleasantnesse thereof.

Applied to these times for the strengthening of mens hands in the happy work of Reformation.

By SAMUEL TORSHELL.

ROM. 1. 11, 12. *For I long to see you, that I may impart unto you some Spirituall gift, to the end you may be established,*
Vers. 12. *That is, that I may be comforted together with you, by the mutuall faith both of you and me.*

March. 12. 1643. Imprimatur, *Char'es Herle.*

London, Printed by *G. M.* for *John Bellamy* at the Signe of the three golden Lyons neare the Royall-Exchange, 1644.

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And an Invitation unto it is urged by some motives from the benefit and pleasantness thereof.

Applied to these times for the strengthening of mens hands in the happy work of Reformation.

By SAMUEL FORSMELL.

Rom. 1. 11. *For I long to see you, that I may impart unto you some spirituall gift, to the end you may be established.*

Vers. 12. *That is, that I may be comforted together with you by the mutuall faith of you and me.*

Imprimatur, Cher Wilkins.

Dedicated by G. M. for Sam Fellows at the Plain Place, Lond. Printed by G. M. for Sam Fellows at the Plain Place, Lond.

TO THE RIGHT WORSHIPFVLL. Mris IANE DONE OF Vtkinton in Cheſhire.

THis which I have digeſted into the forme of a ſmall *Treatiſe*, was the ſubſtance of two *Sermons*, which I preached, both at *Iſtleworth*, and at *Chriſt-Church, London*; upon, *Act.* 2. 42. *They continued ſtedfaſtly in the Apoſtles doctrine and in fellowſhip.* Where I obſerved the effect of S. *Peters Sermon*, the *converſion* of many, who gladly receiving the word, and being baptiſed, were added to the Church: And the *converſation* of believers in thoſe holy *primitive* times, that they maintained a ſweet and happy *fellowſhip* each with other.

Diverſe godly friends judged thoſe *notes* to be of *uſe*, and fit to be *communicated* in theſe *unquiet* and *quarrelling* times, wherein we are in danger to loſe *holineſſe* as well as *peace*. And I have *publiſhed* them, partly to *ſatisfie* their *deſire* and *frequent demanding* of them to the *preſſe*; and in part to *anſwer a dept* that I ſaw my ſelf in, being ingaged by a promiſe I made upon occaſion of *relating* the fruitfull *ſocietie* of ſome ſelect and judicious private *Chriſtians*,

whom I mention in the end of the *fourteenth Chapter* of the first Booke of my *Hypocrite*. I had it in my thoughts, to have *examined* and made a *judgement* upon a designe of *Isaack Comenius* (as I take it) for *an universall Christian Colledge*, but doubting left that would appeare like Sir *Thomas More's Vtopia*, or my Lord *Verulam's Atlantis*, I layd aside that businesse, and have fitted this in a *plain way* and in *plaine language*, to the apprehension and for the use even of the *meanest capacities*. I have not illustrated it with *Histories* and *examples*, as I might have done, and as I have done my *Hypocrite*, but only layd out the generall rules for practise, without ornament.

But such as it is, I have *inscribed* it to your *Name*, for two reasons.

1. Because you are and have been long an *eminent example* of that which the *Treatise* commends. I know you will neither be *afraid* nor *ashamed* to owne that *course* of *Religion* and *Societie* now, which you were not *afraid* to practise, nor *ashamed* to *countenance* heretofore, when the times were *suspitious* of all the *meetings* of godly profession, and threatned and raged against them. The honour of your *zeale*, *courage*, *constancie* and *diligence* in this way, shall remaine upon you, beyond that of your *extraction* from so *antient* and *well known* a *family*. It is your praise, that you have in great part *learned*, what I am *teaching* unto others.

2. But seeing I could have found out many other *Names*, of *men* yea and *women*, of *meane* and of *Noble quality* too, that are very *eminent*, and *shine* in the *holinesse* and *usefulnesse* of their lives; I have therefore another reason why I *inscribe* this to *yours*; Namely to leave a *testimony* of the *sincere* and *great respect*, I beare and have ever borne to you, since I had the happinesse to have acquaintance with your *gifts* and *graces*. That *flame* which hath fired

you,

you from your *habitation*, having driven me alſo to ſeeke *refuge in theſe more ſafe coverts*, I know not how it may pleaſe God to diſpoſe of me, or *where* my poore ſervice may be imployed. Whereſoever therefore I ſit downe, (if a *ſitting downe* may be expected in ſo great a *commotion* and *hurle* of things) I reſolved to leave a publike teſtimony in your hand, how deare my *Bunburie* (ah deſolated *Bunburie*, often, often warned,) How deare your *Cheſhire*, (mine too I may call it in ſome reſpect, as having ſpent a full third part of my life in it.) And how deare *your religious family* and all our *Chriſtian neighbourhood*, are unto my thoughts.

S. T.

The

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A HELPE TO Christian Fellowship.

Chap. I.

The entrance into the discourse. The Subject propounded and commended. The necessity, usefulnesse and antiquity of Fellowship.

THE wonderfull *advantage* which might be made of *Fellowship* in gifts and graces, is greatly neglected by *unwise* and *improvident* Christians; so that the *comfort*, *use* and *gaine* of *Societie*, as it might respect *soul-trade* and *thriving*, is lost. In other things men have been wise to lesser and inferior purposes, and have improved that naturall quality of *sociablenesse*, to the mutuall *strengthning*, *assistance* and *help* of one another. Hence *Countries* have drawne themselves into *Associations* for security and common defence; *Cities* and *Townes* have procured themselves to be made *Corporations*, for the better and more orderly

The necessity of Christian Fellowship.

orderly managing of their publick affaires; *Mysteries* of *Trades* and *Manufactures* have distinguisht themselves into *Companies*. And those cunning *Merchants* of *Rome* who put a *cheate* upon the world under pretence of Religion, have notably maintain'd and kept up their *Trade* by devising so many severall *Orders, Fraternities* or *Brotherhoods*, as that they might share among themselves the gaines and profits arising out of blind and seduced people.

The usefulnesse of it.

In all ages, men have understood the usefulnesse of these *Combinations*; which I take to be the meaning of that observation of the *antient Sages*, That one man is no man, and, That, all men make up but one man. Which agreeth with that of the Apostle, *We being many are one body in Christ, and every one members one of another:* And with that which he speaketh more expresly in another place; *As the body is one, and hath many members, and all the members of that one body, being many, are one body, so also is Christ: for by one Spirit we are all baptised into one body, and have been all made to drinke into one Spirit: for the body is not one member, but many.* He doth not say, *All the members are of one body*, but more significantly and fully to our purpose, that *they are one body*. And such a *body*, Believers, not only are by *union* with *Christ*, but also ought to be by communion and *fellowship* with Christ, and with one another. Which *fellowship*, the *primitive Christians* did excellently maintaine; Concerning which St *Luke* gives a cleare testimony, That such who gladly received the word, and being baptised, were added to the Church,

Unus homo nullus homo: omnes homines unum hominem constituunt.

Rom. 12. 5.
1 Cor. 12. 13, 13, 14.

The Antiquity of it.

Acts 2. 42.

Continued stedfastly in the Apostles doctrine, and in fellowship, and in breaking of bread, and in prayers. For so I reade the words, (not as the *Syriac*, *Ambrose*, and the *vulgar Latine* render them, That they continued in the Apostles doctrine and in the communion of breaking bread; but) as the parts are distinct in the *Greeke Text*, They continued with much patience, resolution and care, and with much fervor and courage; 1. *In the Apostles doctrine*; in the profession of that faith which they had received from the preaching and ministery of the Apostles. 2. *And in fellowship*, being all begotten by the same word, and kept together by the power of it, closing with it, and finding the sweetnesse and use of it walking by it. 3. *And in the breaking of bread*, keeping up the constant and daily use of that ordinance which

προσκαρτεροῦντες.

καὶ τῇ κοινωνίᾳ, καὶ τῇ κλάσει τοῦ ἄρτου.

Christ

Christ had made for a memoriall of himself till his comming again. 4. *And in prayer*, weekly, daily, solemnly, occasionally meeting together before God with their supplications.

This was the conversation of beleevers at *Hierusalem*, they sweetly conversed together, chearfully and friendly entertained one another, and walked fruitfully in all the ordinances of Christ. Neither was the conversation of other *Churches*, unlike to theirs, for to instance this point in the beleevers of *Thessalonica*, it seems they preserved so sweet and so holy a correspondency, that *as touching brotherly love*, St *Paul* saith, *he need not write unto them*. 1 Thes. 4. 9.

Oh, that among the *Christians* of this age there were no need to write of this thing! but now, when the *path* which the old beleevers *trod*, is so *over-grown*, that the track and *print* of their *footsteps* is almost *worne out*; Now, when scarce a shadow of *Communion* is left among *professors*, it is needfull to write of such a subject.

This then is the point, which I would a little pursue, That *Beleivers (as they have, so they ought to) have fellowship one with another.*

Chap. II.

The main point confirmed. The Relations of Believers. The Description of Holy fellowship. The Subject of it.

THat *Believers ought to have fellowship one with another*; hath a full proofe thorough the Scripture. Such are the *Curtaines* of the *Tabernacle*, that must be *coupled* together. They are the *costly stones* of the *Temple*, which must hold up one another, as in an arched building fitly framed together. They are the holy *Hierusalem*, a City compact together. Or if we respect closer expressions; They are all of a family, *The Houshold of faith*. They are all of a body, *A body fitly joyned together, and compacted by that which every joynt supplieth*. They are all of a blood and kindred, Brethren and sisters; for *Christ is not ashamed to*

The Relations of Believers. Exod. 26. 3, 6. Ephes. 2. 21, 22.

Gal. 6. 10. Ephes. 4. 16. τὸ σῶμα συναρμολογούμενον καὶ συμβιβαζόμενον.

Hebr. 2. 11.

call them brethren. It was a part, and is a fruit of Christs prayer, Joh. 17. 20, 21, 22. *I pray for them which shall believe on me thorough the Word, That they all may be one, as thou Father, art in me, and I in thee*; that *they may be one, even as we are one.* It was the delight and longing of such as had the Spirit of Christ. St *Paul* professeth so much to the *Romanes: I long to see you, that I may impart unto you some spirituall gift, to the end you may be established, and I may be comforted together with you, by the mutuall faith both of you and me.* And why else was it, that he so *abundantly indeavoured to see the faces* of the *Thessalonians, with so great desire*; but that he might joy and rejoyce in them, and with them, as his *crowne* in the fruit of his ministery? In a word, let me name those arguments, which the Apostle hath laid up in one heape: *There is one body, and one spirit, and one hope, one Lord, one faith, one baptisme, one God and Father of all*: All having a joynt influence upon our indeavour *to keep the unity of the spirit in the bond of peace.*

Rom. 1. 11, 12. 1 Thes. 2. 17, 19. Ephes. 4. 3, 4, 5, 6.

I will not insist farther upon the proofe, the point being *practicall* and undeniable, it will be rather necessary to cleare and open what this *fellowship* is; and what is requisite unto it.

I speake not here of the *fellowship which we have with the Father, and with his sonne Jesus Christ*; Nor of that communion which is had with the *Spirit* of the *Father*. But of the fellowship which Believers ought to have among themselves. And of this also, in a generall consideration only: not applying it to the controversie now under debate about *the fellowship of Churches*; nor limiting it to that *Communion* and *Relation* between *Pastors* and their *Congregations*: But intending to open what that trade of commerce is, which *Christians* of all sorts and conditions ought to maintain and drive.

1 Joh. 1. 3.

The Description of Christian fellowship.

Give me leave therefore, according to the *Notion* in which I use it, to propound this *Description*. That

The fellowship of Believers, is a mutuall serviceablenesse, and an exchanging of the gifts and graces, of such as are joyned together in heart mind and affection, holding hands, and walking together in the ordinances of Christ.

I consider in this description, the *Subject* of this *fellowship*, and the *exercising* of it.

The Subject of it.

1. The Subject of it. Such as are of the body of Christ, one with the

the Father and with Christ; of the multitude of them that believe, of the houſehold of faith, or, according to the tearmes of the deſcription, ſuch as *are joyned together in heart, mind and affection*, being made one with Christ, are at an agreement among themſelves, being borne of the ſame immortall ſeed, nouriſhed by the ſame breaſts, called by the ſame word, gladly receiving it, and continuing ſtedfaſtly in it, intereſſed in the like pretious faith, and ruled and guided by the ſame Spirit. Theſe are the *ſubject* of this *fellowſhip*, none elſe are truely capable of it: Profane ſpirited men, no nor hypocrites neither, though they croud in ſometimes and take up roome, cannot, may not be *acquainted* with theſe joyes. Such *Canaanites* are *Merchants* of this world, they have nothing to doe in the *houſe of the Lord of Hoſts*. Theſe gates are to be open only, to the *righteous nation which keepeth the truth*, that they may enter in: for this way, is called the *way of holineſſe*, *the uncleane ſhall not paſſe over it*. No *baſtard*, no *Gibeonite*, no *ſtranger*, no *blemiſht one*, is capable of entrance into this ſacred Temple of believing fellowſhip. None but ſonnes and daughters of the Almighty, citizens of the new *Hieruſalem*, free denizons of the glorious corporation of Believers, are the right ſubject; for ſuch only have the *ſpirit of Communion*, which unites the members of the Church, as the *Phyloſophers* ſay, There is a ſoul of the world which holds together the parts of it. The ſame ſpirit, the ſame faith, the ſame heart mind and affections, are the *ſinewes*, *muſcles* and *ligaments*, which keep this body from looſening and falling aſunder. I commended the *Primitive times*, and they had this ſpirit of communion; the *hundred* and *twenty*, that were at *Hieruſalem*, continued with *one accord* in prayer and ſupplication. And I commended St *Pauls* longing after ſuch ſociety, and he had the ſpirit of communion, *Who is weake*, ſaith he, *and I am not weake? who is offended, and I burne not?* And this mind he would have to be in all Chriſtians, *Rejoyce with them that doe rejoyce, and weep with them that weep, be of the ſame mind one toward another.*

Zach. 14 21.
Iſa. 26. 2.
Iſa. 35. 8.
Acts 1. 14.
1 Cor. 11. 29.
Rom. 12. 15.

Chap. III.

The other part of the Deſcription. The exerciſing of Chriſtian fellowſhip. The mutuall exchange of gifts and graces.

The exerciſe of it.

MEN being thus qualified for *fellowſhip*, The exerciſing of it, is in theſe three things.

1. A mutuall exchange and imparting of gifts and graces.

2. A mutuall walking, and holding hands, in the Ordinances of Chriſt.

3. A mutuall ſerviceableneſſe to the bodies and ſoules of one another.

A mutuall exchange of gifts and graces.

1. In the exerciſe of holy fellowſhip, there muſt be a *mutual exchange* and *imparting of gifts and graces*. God hath diſpenſed *variety* of *gifts* unto his people; all are not qualified alike. There are ſome *eminent* graces that make the countenances of ſome *Saints* to *ſhine*. *Job* was exemplary for ſinglencſſe and plainneſſe of heart; *Moſes* for faithfullneſſe and meekneſſe; *Joſiah* for tenderneſſe and a melting ſpirit; and for activity in the cauſe of *Reformation*; *Timothy* for miniſteriall diligence, and a naturall care of the ſtate of the flock. *Athanaſius* was prudent and active, *Cyprian* zealous and vigilant, *Baſil* heavenly and of a faire ſweet ſpirit, *Chryſoſtom* laborious and without affectation, *Ambroſe* reſolved and grave, *&c.* The gift of *Chriſt* is *grace according to meaſure*. He meaſures to ſuch a one, *ſuch gifts*, to another *ſuch*, to a third, *ſuch* and *ſuch*, as he pleaſeth. This I take to be the meaning of the Apoſtle, when he ſaith, *Unto every one of us is given grace, according to the meaſure of the gift of Chriſt*. God gave the Spirit without meaſure unto Chriſt, conſidered in his humane nature, when he was ſent forth, as himſelfe ſpeakes; But we have it according to our *ſcantling*, and as he pleaſeth to *bound* and *entruſt* us. To one is given the *word of Wiſedom*, to another the *Word of knowledge*, to another *faith*, to another *prophecie*, to another *the diſcerning of ſpirits*, to another *divers kinds of tongues*, *&c.* Thus, *every man hath his proper gift of God, one after this manner, and another after that*. One hath *quickneſſe* of *parts*, but

Iob 1.8.
Numb.12.3.
2King.22.19. 23,25.
Phil.2.20.
Epheſ.4.7.
Joh.3.34.
1 Cor.12.8,9, 10.
1 Cor.7.7.

but not so *solid a judgement*, another is *solid*, but not *ready* and *presentall*, one hath a *good wit*, another a *good memory*, a third *good utterance*. One is *zealous* but *ungrounded*, another well *principled* but *timerous*, one is *wary* and *prudent*, another *open* and *plain hearted*, one is *trembling* and *melting*, another is *chearefull* and full of joyes. God is a free giver, and a most wise disposer; that we may be ingaged to use his bounty to each others help. The *knowing Christian* is to impart unto him that is *weake in gifts*, and the other that it may be hath fewer *notions* but more *warmth*, and fuller of love to those truths that he knowes, is to impart of his *heate* to his *knowing friend*; for *the eye*, the knowing man, cannot say to *the hand*, the active man in Gods cause, *I have no need of thee*. The members must have care one of another; the *knowing men* of the ignorant; yea the knowing men are to care for one another, not envying the communicating of their notions; for some *truths* may be more cleared and revealed to one, then to another who is otherwise every way his *equall* in *habituall knowledge*. The Christian that hath collected *experiences*, or found out *methods* for the *advancement* of *holinesse*, must not deny such knowledge to the body. We must like it well that others may *thrive* as well as we. God makes no *Patentees*, nor will he endure any *Monopolies*. *Christians* must drive an open and free *trade*. They must teach one another the *mysterie*. He that growes rich in *notions* or in *graces*, must let others know the *thriving way*. Tell your *experiences*, and tell your *conflicts*, and tell your *comforts*. Make all that thou hast, *the bodies*, and all that the *body* hath, *shine*. Some say the *Art* of *Medicine* was thus perfected; as any one met with an *herbe* and discovered the *virtue* of it by any accident, he would *post* it up in some publike place; and if any were sick or diseased, he was laid in some beaten passage, that every one might communicate the *best receipt*; and so the *Physitians* skill was perfected by a collection of those *posted experiments* and *receipts*. Of all things take heed of the *napkin*, wrap not up the *talent* thorough envy, for then thou art not fit for our *great masters* family. But *as every one hath received the gift, even so must we minister the same one to another, as good stewards of the manifold grace of God*. We are *stewards* for the use of our brethren, and are accountable unto God, how we have

1 Cor. 12. 21.

ver. 25.

4

1 Pet. 4. 10.

layd.

layd out our *knowledge*, our *utterance*, our *spirit of prayer*, our *ability of discerning*, our *experiences of God*, our *tast* of the promises, our *enlargements* after *prayer*, our *improvement* by *conference*, our *comforts* after *private humiliation*, our strengthning by the *Sacraments*, or what else might be instanced in, for use of others. How we got rid of such a *lust*, how we mastered another *temptation*, how we attained to such a *facility* in this or that duty. There must be this *commerce* among them, that are in this heavenly *partnership*. In this body fitly joyned and compacted, *every joynt must supply*, and there must be an effectuall working in the measure of every part to the encrease of the body. According to this rule, the Apostle speaking in the same chapter of *discourse* and *conference*, admonishes the *Ephesians*, not to suffer any corrupt communication to proceed out of their mouthes, but that which is good *to the use of edifying*, that it may minister grace unto the hearers. We must lay out our gift of discourse, or any other gift, profitably with respect unto the wellfare of the whole.

Ephes. 4. 16.

ver. 29.

Chap. IV.

Another exercise of Christian fellowship. Walking together in the ordinances of Christ.

As this fellowship is exercised in the *commerce* of gifts, so, there must be,

Mutuall walking in the ordinances of Christ. Mich. 4. 5.

2. A mutuall walking, and *holding hands* in the *ordinances of Christ*. There ought to be a joynt assistance for the confirming of one another, in such a resolution as this to be taken up, *All people will walke every one in the name of his god, and we will walke in the name of the LORD our God, for ever and ever.* For this I presuppose as a thing granted by all such whom the *Lord avoucheth* to be his peculiar people, that it lyes upon them to *avouch the Lord to be their God, and to walke in his wayes, and to keep his statutes, and his Commandements, and his judgements, and to hearken to his voice.* This is our *covenant* with *God*, who hath entred into *covenant* with *us*, which covenant we are unfaithfull in,

Deut. 26. 17, 18.

in, through the neglect of that help we might have from one another, by mutuall *watching*, *remembrancing* and *exhortation*. I remember what a faithfull and experienced *Divine*, hath related of the practise of some *private men*, but *able* and *godly professors*, who in the sense of their *unanswerablenesse* to the meanes, made a *covenant* among themselves, of *watching* over one another for their better walking together with God. This is no *novell-practise*, for besides the many presidents of the *Antients*, this was not of *yesterday*, for it was well neare *threescore yeares* since, in the yeare 1588, if I remember right, for I have not the *Booke* by me; but the reader may there see, the *heads*, the *rules*, and the *forme* of their *agreement*. *Rich. Rogers, 7. Treat.*

But to pursue the point in hand, There may be a fellowship; 1. In the *hearing of the Word*, quickning one another unto it, helping the negligent to apply it, taking forth the severall *portions* belonging to the different conditions and necessities of each, *praying* for one another that it may be usefull and seasonable.

2. In *prayer*, for and with each other. The *Athenians* sacrificed for none but themselves and their neighbours of *Chios*, but *Christians* know a greater *latitude* of *relations*; and doe also well know the great benefit of putting their *stock* together. See how St *Paul* speakes, *Pray alwayes with all prayer and supplication in the Spirit, and watching thereunto with all perseverance, and supplication for all Saints and for me.* And it seemes he had communicated his condition and present ease unto them by *Tychicus*, that he was in expectation to come before some great *Tribunall* in the cause of the *Gospell*. In those times it appeares they used to *transact* one anothers *affaires* in the *Court* of heaven by prayer. But there is one particular instance that I will not omit; That *fallings out*, and *differences* and *jarrings*, may be healed by prayer: which it may be is the meaning of that place in *James*; *Confesse your faults one to another, and pray one for another, that ye may be healed.* Let not the heart *rankle* when it is wounded by an offence, but meet together, and humbly acknowledge where the *fault lyes*, and make up the matter before God, as a witnesse of your mutuall sincerenesse, and only able to search the *bottome* of the *wound* and to *cure* it. I have knowne some blessed experiments of this, and can tell when a *probatum est*, was written upon it. Eph. 6. 18. &c. Jam. 5. 16.

3. In *fasting*, for the afflicting and humbling of the soul. So *Ezra* and his *men*; and *Esther* and her *maides* maintain'd communion together. I have knowne some that for many yeares have *strictly* and *duely* observed this course, to the wonderfull improvement of their gifts, and of their acquaintance with God. Such *fasting dayes*, are *soul-feeding* dayes, and *soul-saving* dayes. Some diseases, some lusts will go out no other way.

Ezra 8.23. Esth 4.16. Mar.9.29.

4. In mutuall *bemoanings, confessions*, and openings of our *sores* and our *wounds*. It may be when the Apostle saith, *Confesse your faults one to another*, he meanes more then the acknowledgement of offences, whereby a man hath sinned against his brother (though that be a *necessary* and most *usefull* part of this *fellowship*, and without which the heart will *rankle*, and the sinne will remaine upon it unpardoned:) but also that *Christians* should bewaile their *failings, infirmities, deadnesse, unsavourinesse, coldnesse, narrownesse, unfruitfulnesse*, or what ever the *maladie* be, to one another, to see whether others have been in the same case, and what course they tooke, and what remedy they procured. Many perish through too much modesty and reservednesse.

Jam.5.16.

5. In the *Sacraments*, joying in one another, beholding their *order* and *stedfastnesse of faith in Christ*; rejoycing together in the love of God, feeding at the same *table* as those that shall meet and sit downe with Christ for ever in his *Fathers house*; taking occasion to renew the *covenant of love* among themselves, and laying downe all *grudges, rancor, prejudice, uncharitable surmises*, &c. for Christs sake, and giving the *right hand of fellowship* cordially and unfainedly, as those that find themselves to be all *retainers* to the same *Master*, provided for with the same care, *purchased* by the *price* of the same blood.

6. Lastly, (to name no more, though other particulars might be instanced,) *In holy conference*. This, this indeed is it that might much improve the *meeting* of Christians, to whet upon one another the knowledge of the *holy Scriptures*, to observe among themselves and speake of, the remarkeable *passages* of *providence*, the *great* and *holy wayes* of *God*, the things that he doth *gloriously in their eyes*. In the Prophets time, when proud scorners and profane spirited men, talkt vainely, and did even what they *list*, then they that *feared the Lord*, met, and *spake often one to another*. No doubt

Mal.3.16.

doubt they ſpake of *God*, and his *counſels*, of Gods *works* and *ways*, of his *providence* and *goodneſſe*; of the baſeneſſe of *Atheiſticall thoughts* concerning God. What I have apprehended farther upon this place, I have expreſt in my *Exercitation upon Malachy*. This exchanging of words and notions, make them thrive and grow rich that uſe it; of which I gave a full example, in my *Hypocrite*, where I promiſed this *Treatiſe*. Truely the benefit of *conference* muſt needs be great, for thereby Chriſtians doe build up one another, as the Apoſtle uſeth the word: and doe *heate* and *inflame* one another, as it was in the caſe of Chriſts *conferring* with the two Diſciples; and doe ſtrengthen and encourage one another, as it ſeemes thoſe brethren did St *Paul*, who met him at the *three Tavernes* in his way to *Rome*. There ſhould be a law of grace in the lips of friends, when either *occaſionally* or *purpoſely* they meet; to confer wiſely, without bitterneſſe, meekely, humbly, alwayes endeavouring either to doe or receive ſome good.

Hypocrite diſcovered. & c. *l.* 1 *ch.* 15.

1 Theſ. 5. 11. *ἐποικοδομεῖτε.* Luk. 24. 32.

Acts 28. 15.

CHAP. V.

A third exerciſe of Chriſtian fellowſhip, Mutuall ſerviceableneſſe. To the ſoules. To the bodies of the Saints.

3. THE laſt exerciſe of this fellowſhip that I propounded, is, *A mutuall ſerviceableneſſe* unto one another.

1. Chriſtians are to be *ſerviceable* to each others *ſoules*, for advancement of ſpirituall wellfare.

Mutuall ſerviceableneſſe of Chriſtians.

1. *In watching over one another.* Take heed of that profane ſpeech, *Am I my brothers keeper?* Enemies, they many times (like *Jeremies familiars*) doe maliciouſly watch for our *haltrings*; but *ſincere friends* may doe it very profitably. We had need have either *prying enemies*, or faithfull friends to make us know our ſelves.

Jer. 20. 10.

2. *In admoniſhing and reproving thoſe that fall*; meekely and ſeaſonably, mourning and melting with them. This is a great duty but much neglected. Reverend Mr *Bolton* profeſſed, *He was grie-*

Bolt. *Quat. Noviſſ.* p. 163.

ved at his heart that he had done no more in that kind. And indeed it will be a cauſe of griefe to any that omit this duty, for what ſinnes they *rebuke* not (where they may) they *commit*. Oh count not *admonition*, an *unneceſſary medling*. Through a fooliſh humour to be eſteemed *peaceable* and *quiet*, we ſuffer many to *miſcarry* and be loſt; and by ſuffering ſinne upon our brother, we ſhew that we hate him. The trueſt *friendſhip* is maintained by the *faithfulneſſe* of *mutuall admonitions*. He was a wiſe man and an *experienced* Chriſtian that ſaid, *He was never acquainted thoroughly with any one, but firſt he diſpleaſed him by admoniſhing him of ſome failing.*

Lev.19.17.

3. *In recovering thoſe that are fallen*, thorough a ſpirit of meekeneſſe. This is according to the rule of the great Apoſtle, *Brethren if any man be overtaken in a fault, ye which are ſpirituall, reſtore ſuch an one in the ſpirit of meekneſſe, conſidering thy ſelfe, leſt thou alſo be tempted. Beare ye one another's burdens.* This is to be *weake* with them that are *weake*, in St *Pauls* ſenſe; and being *ſtrong*, to beare the *infirmities* of the *weake*, and not to *pleaſe our ſelves*; Not to *triumph* over them that are upon the *ground*, and thrown down by a *temptation*; but to ſit by them upon the ſame *flat*, and mourne with them and for them, and to feele ſome of the *weight*. An excellent *temper*, ſpecially for a *Paſtor*. *Ambros* of whom a great Commander under *Theodoſius* was wont to ſay, *That he knew no other man worthy the name of a Biſhop*, He had ſuch a *paſtorall-ſpirit*, he would *weep* as plentifully as the *ſinning party* that was to be *admoniſhed*, or *excommunicated*, or *reconciled*. Your *lofty knowers* and *popular orators*, many of them underſtand not what belongs to this *fellowſhip* in *mourning*.

Gal.6.1,2.

2 Cor.11.29. Rom.15.1.

4. *In inſtructing the ignorant, dull, and leſſe capeable*; being willinger to keep a *ſlow pace*, then to *out-goe* the *young* and *tender lambes*. We ſhall have their *company* in Heaven, that while they were here, never knew *criticiſmes* upon the *Texts*, nor had quickneſſe enough to diſcerne of *Arminian notions*, nor could ever ſpare leiſure to underſtand and enquire *Socinian ſubtilties*. All that they could reach unto was to *know God* in *Jeſus Chriſt*, and to underſtand the *principles* without which they could not have been ſafe. Oh let us not *deſpiſe* them here, with whom we ſhall have *eternall company*.

company. Be not *too high* for their *fellowſhip*, if they know and can ſay any thing of God, or if they would faine heare of him. Be willing to lay out your *gifts* and *leiſure* and *patience*. Strive with their infirmity and unfitneſſe. St *Auguſtin* would ſpeake *falſe latine* if the people underſtood *falſe latine* better then *true*. Lay the *mouth* cloſe to the *eare* that is *deafe*. Be content to ſtrike the third, fourth and fift *blow* upon the *wedge* that enters with difficulty. Neglect not the *rere* of the *Chriſtian Army*.

5. *In incouraging weake beginners.* Bid them wellcome that ſtand upon the *threſhold*, that linger in the *portch* of the *Temple of fellowſhip*, and would be glad to ſit down among the *Diſciples* of Chriſt. Quench not *ſmoaking flax*, incourage it rather unto a *flame*. If you perceive a *poore ſoul* to *liſten* after Chriſt, and hearken if ſome word of comfort may be let fall, *open* your ſelves to him, and if he caſt a *wondring* and *pleaſing-eye*, as he is *in tranſitu*, let him into the pleaſures and raviſhments of the *Kings chambers*. Take heed of making any one *goe back*, or grow out of love with the *order* and *government* of Chriſts *family*.

6. *In ſtirring up the ſpirits and gifts of one another. Conſider one another to provoke unto love and to good Works; not forſaking the aſſembling of our ſelves together, but exhorting one another.* A *meane*, an *inferiour* perſon, by propounding a *queſtion*, may lay the firſt *ſtone*, whereupon a *goodly frame* of *excellent* and *rich diſcourſe* may be *reared*. Quicken one another in the wayes of godlineſſe. As the *iron* ſharpens *iron*, and as the *rubbing* of the *hands* makes both warme; and as *live-coales* make the reſt burne; ſo let the fruite of our ſocietie, be mutuall *ſharpening*, *warming* and *enflaming*. Heb. 10. 24, 25.

7. *In raiſing, chearing, comforting the dejected, diſmayed and ſad ſpirit.* Strengthen the weake hands, and the feeble knees. How did the *Martyrs* in their *priſons*, ſet one another at liberty from the bondage of *feares*? How did *holy Bradford* ſweet and chearfull company, make the very *dungeons* lightſome and *pallace-like* to his fellow priſoners, as themſelves profeſſed? An *unbelieving heart* oppreſſed many times with fooliſh cares and feares, feeles the *load* quite taken of, ſometimes by a word duely ſpoken, or a *promiſe* applied in the ſeaſon of it. *Luther* and *Melanchthon* it ſeems maintaind a *brotherly communion*, and *Melanchthon* was Job 4. 3, 4.

much the better, even for a few poore lines of *consolation*, from his *deare* and *holy friend*, when his heart was full of thoughts, what would be the issue of all that *rage* of *Charles* the *fift*, and the *German Princes* against the *Gospell*. These are some instances of that service which Christians owe to each others soul.

2. In this *fellowship*, there must also be a *serviceablenesse* unto the *bodies* of the *faithfull*, and to their *outward necessities*. The *primitive Christians* exceld in this care, for in regard of the *extraordinary* condition of those *times*, when they were in continuall expectation to be removed from *Hierusalem*, they that dwelt there or thereabouts did by a *voluntary act* put their estates together into a *common stock*; that *all*, even the *poore* that in those hard and uncertaine times gave their *names* to *Christianity*, might be *tended* and looked upon with *equall care* and respect. I know some have *stretcht* this too farre; to make it a *loading case* and a *binding example*. There were *Hereticks* antiently, that urged it, they were those that call'd themselves *Apostolicalls*, and they held, That *sinne brought in propriety* of estates and goods, and that *grace brings in community*. An unsafe opinion, and unwarrantable as being against the Scriptures. Yet some of the *Antients* that were of the best name, have spoken too liberally that way, in praise of communitie. Yea even *Chrysostome* so expresses himself, as if *meum* and *tuum* were removed by the Gospell. But generally Christians knew their liberty, for unlesse it were the Church at *Syracuse* mentioned by *Hilarie*, I know not any Church of the Antients that entertained or taught that *communitie*. But thus farre it holds, that if the *necessities* of the *faithfull* call for it, even all that we have must be serviceable. And for this, to set aside that extraordinary *president*, we have the ordinary and usuall practises of the Churches, to be our *patternes*. It is truely an *acceptable service* unto *God*, and a *glorious ministerie*, to *tend* the *Lords poore* and sicke. The great Apostle, even he takes upon him *the fellowship of the ministering to the Saints*, as himselfe speakes, writing to the *Corinthians*, a rich people, whom he notably *stirreth* with effectuall and strong arguments to that purpose; as he did also the *Romanes*, to whom he also mentioned his *employment* that he had undertaken, upon the desire of the Christians in *Achaia*. I cannot but honour the name and memory of the learned

2 Cor. 8 4, 5, 6, &c.

Rom. 15. 25.

Paul

Paul Fagius; a man much like St *Paul* in this c[illegible], who at *Isna* where he was Pastor before he came into *England* in K. *Edwards* dayes, took exceeding much care, that the *poore* and *distressed* might be plentifully provided for, as *Crucius* hath related of him.

CHAP. VI.

The Requisites unto this Christian fellowship. First a renouncing of all sinfull and wicked fellowship.

HAving opened what the fellowship is, the next thing I propounded, is to consider what is requisite unto it. I will only speake to two heads.

1. A renouncing of all fellowship which is destructive of this.
2. The graces that are necessary for the entring into, and maintaining of it.

1. There must be *a renouncing* and *disclaiming of all wicked societie*, which is destructive to that *holy fellowship* which hath been set up; for *What fellowship hath righteousnesse with unrighteousnesse? and what communion hath light with darknesse? And what concord hath Christ with Belial? or what part hath he that beleeveth with an Infidel? And what agreement hath the Temple of God with Idols?* We may not consent with the *theefe*, nor be partakers with *adulterers*: nor cast in our lot with *sinners*, to walke with them in their way: We may not be among *wine-bibbers*, among *riotous eaters of flesh*: Nor have fellowship with any *unfruitfull workes of darknesse*, *but rather reprove them*. We cannot be rid of their *company*; for then we must goe out of the *world*, but we may not make them our *consorts*. God *covenanted* with the *Jews* that they should make no *league* with the *Canaanites*. *After the tenour of these words* (saith the Lord) *I have made a covenant with thee and with Israel. Take heed to thy self lest thou make a covenant with the inhabitants of the land, lest it be a snare in the midst of thee.* There is the *ground* of it, because a people are *corrupted* and *perverted* by *evill company*. Such *pitch* will

Wicked society to be renounced. 2 Cor. 6. 14, 15, 16.

Psal. 50. 18. Pro. 1. 14, 15. Pro. 23. 20.

Ephes. 5. 11.

Exo. 34. 12. ver. 12.

will defile our *garments*. Such *Delilahs* will *bind* and *betray* us, and *blind* and *undoe* us. The *Saints* that are in the earth, they are the *excellent ones*, in whom we may *delight*, among whom we may be *safe*. But who ever came safely off from a company of *thieves*, and *without losse* from among *cheaters* and *juglers*? Who can scape *infection* that *haunt* such *houses* as are *pestilentially diseased*? The *Physitians* themselves when they visit such persons are faine to use some *pills*, and take *antidotes preservative*. 'Tis a great *presumption* that some men have, who without *choyce* will *venture* themselves upon all *acquaintance* and *friends*. I remember what *Plutarch* saith of *Antisthenes*, *That he wondred men observed their dishes whether they had any flaw, and yet had no regard in the choyce of friends.* Nothing more dangerous then to converse *ordinarily* and *frequently* with such as are *enemies* to *God*, and *strangers* to his *wayes*. The *Israelites* were *mingled among the heathen, and learned their workes*, and *they served their Idols which were a snare unto them*. We may observe therefore that when St *Peter* gathers a people by the *Gospell*, he admonisheth them vehemently, to come off from their *old interesses*, and to *secure* themselves at a *safe distance* from ungodly and perverse men. *With many other words*, (saith the text,) *did he testifie and exhort, saying, Save your selves from this untoward generation.* It appeares, it was of no small *concernment*, because he *interposed* Gods *authority*, and charged them in *Gods name*, as *Beza* observes upon the word, that they would *save*, or *guard themselves* from ill company. St *John* was upon this *guard*, as it is in the *Ecclesiasticall history*, when he took an *alarme* as it were, when he had *notice* that *Cerinthus* a wicked and corrupt man was in the same *bath*: He thought he could not *stay* without *danger* under the same *roofe*, and therefore cryed out, *properemus hinc, let's be gone, let's be gone.* That grace and powerfull word, which *melts* the heart, and fits it for *union* with the *body* of *believers*, doth seperate it from that which is *heterogeneous* and *disagreeing*. *Melted gold* will unite it selfe with the *substance* of *gold*, and not *incorporate* with *drosse*. He that waites for an entrance into Heaven, and dwells here in the *porch* of it, *Gods holy hill*, *In his eyes* (as *David* tells us,) *a vile person is contemned*. He will not deny him *curtesies* and *civill behaviour*, he

Psal. 16. 3.

Psal. 106. 35, 36.

Acts 2. 40.

διαμαρτύρετο.

Psal. 15. 1, 4.

he will eate and drink, and buy and sell, and shew kindnesse, and *pitty*, and *pray* for him, and *help* and relieve him, and will carry himself with all *wisedom* towards him though he be *without*: but as for *holy communion* he will say, as *Peter* said to *Simon Magus*, *Thou hast neither part nor fellowship in this body*: and as *Nehemiah* said to *Sanballat*, *Tobiah* and *Goshem*, *You have no portion, nor right, nor memoriall in Hierusalem*. For this is according to the rule of the Scripture, *Such as are despisers of those that are good, traitors, heady, high-minded, lovers of pleasures more then lovers of God, having a forme of godlinesse, but denying the power thereof; from such turne away*. And it will be justified before God to doe so, for what have we to doe with them, that have nothing to doe with God? We have a president to pleade, in the Prophet, *O Lord, we are thine, thou never bare'st rule over these, they are not called by thy name*. Let *Israel* take heed, he doe not *marry* with *Ashdod*. The late times of *prelaticall tyranny*, were so *jealous* of *Christian fellowship*, and *suspicious* of *conventicling*, and made such *matches* of *protestancie* with the daughters of *Rome* and *Ashdod*, *superstition* and *profanation*, that we the children of those *matches*, spake *half* in the speech of *protestancie*, and *half* in the speech of *Rome* and *Ashdod*, and could not speake in the *Jews* language, but according to the language of each people, or as the Hebrew hath it, *of a people* and *a people*. If ye will *marry* into this honourable family, the glory of whose *line* and *descent* I have described, ye must first give a *bill* of *divorce* to these wives. *Rebekah* must leave her fathers and her brothers house, to goe to be joyned with *Isaack*. And when *Christ* takes a *Spouse*, he saith to her, *Hearken O daughter, and consider, and encline thine eare, forget also thine own people and thy fathers house; so shall the King greatly desire thy beauty, for he is thy Lord and worship thou him*.

Act 8, 21.

Neh. 2, 20.

2 Tim. 3. 3, 4, 5.

Isa. 63. 19.

Neh. 13. 24.

Psa. 45. 10, 11.

Let no man misinterpret, as if I layd grounds of *separation* from our Church, my thoughts have not the least acquaintance with such a conceipt. He must be sure his *grounds* are such as will beare a sufficient *plea* when he comes to answer the matter before Christ, that dares presume to condemne and forsake a Church where the bread of life, the word of the *Gospell* is preached sincerely. I only intend an *alienation* and *estrangement* from wicked men, in their

uncleane and infectious conversation; for this, If men walke contrary to God, We, (as the *Oracle* in *Plutarch* testified of *Paris* the *Iust*,) must walke contrary to all men. You must leave the worlds way, if you will come into Gods.

CHAP. VII.

Other Requisites unto Christian fellowship. The graces necessary for entring into, and maintaining of it. Humilitie. Ingenuitie. Self-denyall.

Graces necessary for Christian fellowship.

2. THE graces that are necessary for entring into this holy fellowship, and for the maintaining of it, are divers, I will name and insist upon some of them.

Humility.

1. *Humilitie.* I will begin low, at the bottom-step. In my *Heraldry*, this lovely grace deserves the *preheminence* to leade on the rest. Proud *Nimrod*, the man who first disliked it to see men in a *levell*, would be *alone*, look't upon at a distance from the rest. He it was that first began to be a *Lyon* and a *Tyger*, but the humble *sheep* are they that love to be together in a *flock*. Humble men have all the fitnesses for *society*. They contend not, they censure not, they quarrell not, they doe not disdaine: They can meet with unequall respects, of *age*, *sex*, *state* and *parts*. Some will reverence the wisedom that lodgeth under *silver hayres*, but despise the youth even of a *Timothy*. Some will entertaine discourse with *men*, the most vive resemblances of the *Divine Soveraignty*, but neglect that other *sex*, as if they were not *heyres* together of the same grace of life. Some will *salute* religion and take acquaintance of her when they meet her in good company with such as weare *good clothes*, and are of *good place* and respect, but will forget they ever saw her, when they see her entertain'd by poore *tradesmen*, and *russet countrymen*. Some will glory in their acquaintance with the men that are *talke off*, that are *rich* in *purse* and eminencie, but think no good can be got from those that are without a *crest* and a *name*. But the humble can *correspond* with all

all these *inequalities*. They can endure to heare what young *Elihu* can say in the *controversie*. They can discerne even in *women* too what is to be honoured, if not alwayes so *profound a judgement*, yet many times more holy and more sweet *affections*. They have not the faith of our Lord Jesus, with respect of persons, but say even to the poore man in vile rayment, *sit thou here in a good place*, if he be of the poore whom God hath chosen, *rich in grace*, and *heirs of the kingdom*. They can preferre *grace* before *parts*, and delight in the sweet *sent* of creeping *violets*, and *stammer* and *lisp* with the rude in speech, so as to understand one anothers meaning well enough. This *humility* fits men, to make use and improve all other mens gifts; for *in honour they prefer one another*, and so come to be kindly affectioned one to another with brotherly love, as the Apostle observes. The *proud* get little in communion. We give not reliefe to such as weare *good cloathes*, and brag what *provision* they have at *home*: and who is it that will offer advice to such as glory in their *parts* and *abilities*. But the humble have all the advantages that proud men lose. The proud are seldom *learners*, or if at any time they condiscend, 'tis only to sit at the feet of some *Gamaliel*: If they *write*, it must be only after the *copies* written by him that wonne the *golden pen*, they propose none to imitate, but such as are the *excelling men*. But the humble can spie out *graces* of all *sorts*, in all sorts and rankes of people; Sweet affability, courtesie and gentlenesse in men of *great quality* and *Ladies* of *high birth*; Silent contentednesse, honest diligence, and the daily exercise of patience and faith, in many Christians of an *obscure rank*, that are forced to *struggle* with necessity and poverty to get *bread*. Blushing modesty, and ignorance of the shining of their own faces, from many godly that are *solidly learned*: and warmenesse, and activity and chearfulnesse in Gods worship, from many godly, that have no learning, little understanding, that can't it may be maintaine Christs *God-head* by arguments against a witty *Socinian*, but they are sure their hearts love him in *sincerity*. Severall sorts of men have severall lustres, The humble learne of all, write after every *copy*, and so receive much benefit in communion even from all. Jam. 2. 1, 3, 5. Rom. 12. 10.

2. There is a grace that doth much resemble *humility*, at a blush one would take it to be the same, for they are *sisters*, and that is Acknowledgement of others gifts.

the acknowledgement and the *prizing of others gifts.* 'Tis envy and *fullenneſſe* of ſpirit, that either *denies* or *debaſeth* the worth that is in others. They were ſicke (as it ſeemes) of this diſeaſe, who met *Peter* at *Hieruſalem*, and cenſured him for joyning himſelfe to *Cornelius* his family, but *Peter* pleades his excuſe, *Foraſmuch* Acts 11.17. *as God gave them the like gifts as he did unto us, what was I that I could withſtand God*; that I ſhould doe otherwiſe. And at another time St *Peter*, (together with *James* and *John*) gave a notable teſtimony of their ſincerity, that whereas the people glorified God in *Paul*, who of a *perſecutor* was now become a *preacher* of the faith, theſe men not being *jealous* of an *eccliſpe*, perceiving the *grace* that was given unto him, gave him the *right* Gal. 1.24. Gal. 2.9. *hand of fellowſhip*. Oh what a ſweet agreement might there be among the *Miniſters* of the word, and what progreſſe might they make in their *joynt ſervice* for the *gaining of ſoules*; if they would learne to acknowledge and rejoyce in the grace of *God* in one another: ſome excelling in a *dexterity* in opening of *Scriptures*; ſome in profoundneſſe and ſolidneſſe of judgement for the right *ſtating* of *controverſies*; ſome in *readineſſe* of ſpeech for the working upon the *affections*. Oh let not brethren either in the miniſtery or in other relations, envy and grudge at one another. *Eſau* hated *Jacob* becauſe he had obtain'd a *better bleſſing*; *Saul* maligned *David* becauſe he had gained more *reſpect*. But *Eſau* and *Saul*, were in *Simon Magus* his condition, *Men that had no part nor lot in this fellowſhip*. But oh the *candidneſſe* and *ingenuity* Acts 18.24, 25,26. that beautified the ſoul of young *Apollos*, who though he were an eloquent man and mighty in the Scriptures, yet ſo farre *acknowledged* and *honoured* the graces of God and the gifts that were in *Aquila* and *Priſcilla*, a plain couple, an handicraft-man and his wife, that he was content to *learne* of them. A famous *pulpitman*, yet learnes *divinity* from *two aprons*. I wonder how the *Mountagues*, and *Wrens*, and *Couſins*, and the reſt of that *lofty generation*, who would have *frighted* and *rayled* all *Scripture knowledge*, and conference, out of private *families*, could ever reade that *text* and *hiſtory* without *glowing* and *indignation*, without *ſtartling* and *conviction*. But thoſe *fellowes*, have names not worth a mention, in a treatiſe of *holy fellowſhip*.

Self deniall. 3. *Self-denyall* is the third of theſe graces. I ſet thoſe graces together,

together, that have the ſame *lines* of *proportion* in their *countenances*. Such as ſeeke their own eſteem, their own profit, their own ends, theſe are *Painters*, unfit for the *Commonwealth* of *chriſtianity* or *godlineſſe*. But what is the rule of the Scripture? we have it in the words of St *Paul*. *Let nothing be done through ſtrife or vain-glory, but in lowlineſſe of mind, let each eſteeme other better then themſelves*; *Looke not every man on his own things, but every man alſo on the things of others.* And St *Paul* himſelfe followed the ſame rule, he did pleaſe all men in all things, *not ſeeking his own profit, but the profit of many.* Phil. 2. 4, 5. 1 Cor. 10. 33.

Chap. VIII.

Other graces requiſite unto this fellowſhip. Love. Affability. Sobriety. Innocency. Holy emulation. Wiſedome.

4. *Love* ſhall bring up the reſt of the graces. A *grace* of ſuch uſe and influence, that without it there can be no *fellowſhip*. This is it that *joynes hands*, and *hearts*, whereby *ſoules are knit* together; as it was ſaid of *David* and *Jonathan*, that *the ſoule of Jonathan was knit with the ſoul of* David, *and* Jonathan *loved him as his own ſoul.* This ties a perfect knot, for ſo the Apoſtle ſpeakes, *Put on bowels of mercies, kindneſſe, humbleneſſe of mind, meekneſſe, long-ſuffering, and above all theſe things put on charity, which is the bond of perfectneſſe*, that is, the moſt perfect bond. All *combinations* of men are tyed of a *ſliding knot*, a little *artifice* or a little *ſtreſſe* will *ſever* them, nay they will *unloſe* of themſelves, if their proper *intereſſes* may be better obtain'd by being *looſe*, as we have ſeene in the caſe of *leagues* and *politick correſpondencies* among *Princes*: only they are firme, whom unfaigned *love* makes ſo. *Partiality, inconſtancy, injudicioufneſſe, weake ſuſpicion, ſtreightneſſe of ſpirit, ſquint-eyed reſpects, pride, cenſoriouſneſſe, diſſimulation*, all which are deſtructive of ſociety, are all cured and remedied by *love*. Love diſpoſeth and fitteth men to all ſpirituall offices: To *pray* together, *I will that men pray every where* (ſaith the Apoſtle) lifting up holy hands without wrath. Love. Col. 3. 12, 14. 1 Sam. 18. 1. 1 Tim. 2. 8.

Jam. 1. 19. Mat. 5. 24. *To heare the word*; St *James* implyeth it, that such are swift to heare who are slow to wrath. *To communicate in holy Worship*: First (saith Christ) be reconciled to thy brother, and then come and offer thy gift. No *dwarfs* might be present at the *sacrifice* of Hercules. So none that want love are admittable into the *Temple* of *Fellowship*.

Amability. 5. *Sweet amiableness, facility* or *condescension*, which grace though we cannot agree about her *name*, is a *sister* of *love*. Rugged stones, unhewen and unsquared, cannot fitly joyne and lye together in a *building*. Sowre, harsh, *sullen spirits* are not for society. *Nabal*, who is such a sonne of *Belial*, that no man can speake to him, he may not, is not fit to be entertained. I know there are some good men, of a *tetricall* and *sterick disposition*, whose *harshnesse* and rigid gravity, makes a poore Christian *startle* backe, though he came with a resolution to consult and learne something of them. But these good men, live it may be to themselves, but not with so much comfort, as they might have in being *publikely beneficiall*. But there is an *alluring facility* in some Christians, that doth call in the modest and *blushing* that otherwise would *step backe*, and it may be perish in the concealing of some spirituall *maladie*. Our Lord Jesus did not only invite the *weary* and *heavy laden*, but admitted into his company, the *Publicans* that were invited by *Levi* to be his *fellow-guests*. I intend not this for a *patronage* for those *good-fellow-ministers* and others (as they call them), who pervert this and such like examples, to colour and cover their *tiplings* and *bowsings* with all sorts of companions, under a pretence of insinuating into them to doe them good; but to propose a *fairr* and *excellent copy* of *debonaire* and *sweet behaviour*, for gaining of soules into the liking and relishing of the good wayes of God.

Mat. 11. 28. Mat. 9. 10.

Sobriety of spirit. 6. There is another grace, which keepes constantly in the company of the two former, and that is, *sobriety of spirit* in the suspending of all rashnesse of censure, and a *patient bearing* with some errors and offences, which unavoideably will sometimes fall out. The Apostle had respect unto this, when he admonished the *Colossians* who were in *Christian Communion*, to *forbeare one another*, forgiving one another, *if any man have a quarrell against any*, or a matter of *complaint*, as the word signifieth. Alas how querulous are some men, how loud and shrill and thunder-stormie

Col. 3. 13. μεμφη. μαλυμμαβὸς. It is Nonnus his word; Querulus, a busie find-fault.

storme in their *complaints*. Men that are too tender and *apprehensive* of injuries, are weake, and of weake *stomackes* that can digest nothing: and they are proud and big. Proud men that are apteſt to give *affronts*, will receive none. But *heavenly ſpirits*, reſolve to doe good, and ſuffer evill. This is indeed, *a way of their owne*, as *Cyprian* calls it in a booke that he wrote of *Patience*; and *a profound wiſedome*, as *Ambroſe* commends it, ſpeaking of *Davids* carriage towards *Shimei*. *Coſroes* the *Perſian King*, cauſed a *throne* to be made like heaven, with the *ſunne* and *moone*, and *ſtarres* artificially placed above it, and under his feet, thicke and black *clouds*, raging *tempeſts* and boyſterous *winds*. He that enjoyes God, and lives in a ſweet and *even temper*, dwells in ſuch a *palace*, and hath all the *mayſts*, and *clamours*, and *tumults*, and *complaints*, that the world vexes it ſelf with, under his feet.

7. I have ranked together thoſe graces that have a reſemblance to each other; *Three* and *three*. I will only adde another *three*. The *ſeventh* is, *Innocencie*, *harmleſneſſe* and *inoffenſiveneſſe of converſation*. Friendſhip and amity is beſt maintained, where there is a mutuall and common ſtudy of, and walking by the *ſame rule*. Oh that Chriſtians would learne to walke by *Scripture-rule*, and all labour to be throughly acquainted with it. Not as it is in humane *affaires*, where it may be not above *one man* in a *great towne*, in a *whole towne*, buyes the *large booke* of the *Statutes* and conſults it, and acquaints himſelfe with it, and alone knowes what *Nuſances* are, and what are *treſpaſſes* and what will beare an *action*: but let all ſtudy the ſame rule, and ſearch out the *mind of God*, for the ordering of converſation aright. Oh let us not conſult with our own *Oracle*, with *ſelfe*; for then we ſhall be *uneven*, and prefer our own reſpects, and preſently fall aſunder if any thing *croſſe* them. Among other things, I would here eſpecially commend unto Chriſtians, the *government* and *taming* of the *tongue*, an *unruly member*, and of ſmall occaſion of much miſchiefe and diſcord. *Lyes*, *flatteries*, *whiſperings*, *ſcoffes*, *calumnies* and *invented ſlanders*, doe deſtroy all ſociety. This *fire*, ſet on with the counſe of nature, as S. *Iames* obſerveth. Unleſſe this unruly evill, full of deadly poyſon, be tamed, *All religion is in vaine*, and ſo conſequently all religious fellowſhip; for ſo ſaith the ſame Apoſtle, *If any man among you ſeeme to be religious*, Innocency. Jam. 3. 6. Jam. 1. 26.

religious, and bridleth not his tongue, this mans religion is in vaine.

Desire of the best gifts.

8. The next is an *holy coveting of excellent gifts*. *Emulation* ordinarily ingenders strife, and so overthrowes fellowship. But there is again, a *good contention*, an holy ambition, a spirituall emulation, a *zealousnesse* after more perfection of gifts and graces. *Affect*, *emulate*, be *zealous after*, or as our Translation renders it, *Covet earnestly the best gifts*. One that desires *growth* and *improvement*, will need no invitation to frequent such company by which he may be *better'd*. *Strike me, so but you teach me*, said the *Cynick* to his master, he would not leave him though the *staffe* were threatned. So they that know the *benefit* of *communion*, will not leave, though haply they meet with some inconveniencies *for it*, if not *in it*.

ἀγαθὴ δ' ἔρις, Hesiod.

1 Cor. 12. 31. Ζηλοῦτε.

Wisedom.

9. The last that I commend, is, *wisedom*, both to *discerne* where the rich treasure lyes, and to be able to draw it forth. There *lyes* a great deale of wealth in some *obscure* and *neglected Christians*. They doe not more ordinarily tread upon and walke over the *unknown veines* of *gold* in *America*, then many *supercilious* and *conceited professors* doe passe by and neglect golden and very pretious spirits. One would not thinke, what *dexterity* in the *Scriptures*, what *judgement* in *controversies*, what *ability* to *settle* and *comfort a disturbed conscience*, what *fervency* and *expressions in prayer*, what *acquaintance* with God and his providence, what *strength of faith*, what *patience*, *meeknesse*, *moderation*, *contentednesse*, *heavenly mindednesse*, and what not, may be now and then found out and discovered, in *plain people*, men and women that weare *plain clothes*, that have *plaine carriage* and *plain speech*. And besides, there may haply be *more*, where *grace* is expected, then we looke for: more in a *Saint*, then a *bare sentence* or *action* will or can expresse. The *golden veine* is *broader* and *thicker* then sometimes we guesse it to be. Here then is the necessary use of *wisedom*, to be able to see further then the *russet*. Not to be *confused* with *reverend beardes*, and *grave furres*, and *demure countenances*, (like the *Councellours* to the *Muscovian* that I spake of in my *Hypocrite*,) as if graces and gifts *dwelt* only at those *signes*. And when we find a *veine*, there must be skill to *dig* it. Oh how did the old Patriarks remove their habitations for the benefit of *water springs*;

springs; how did they rejoyce when they found a *Well*? And we, when we have met with these *Wells of living water*, how shall we fetch it up? *Counsell in the heart of a man, is like deepe water, Salomon, and a man of understanding will draw it out.* Is he of great *dexterity* in the Scriptures, acquainted with the *secrets* and *depths* of the *text*; propound some place you have met with in your ordinary course of reading the Scriptures, where you were fain to make a *stand*, and could get no further. Is he one that is studied in *controversies*, desire him to untie a *knot*, where you have a great while been looking for an *end*. Is he acquainted with *cases* of *desertion*, and *soul cloudes*, learn of him what *experiments* he hath collected, and which is the *way* out of the *mist*. Is he able in *councell*, desire him to advise you, and set you *methods* and *rules*. Is he *powerfull* in *prayer*, get him to commend your *suites* with you unto God. All men would be dealt with in the proper way wherein they are *versed*, and wherein they *excell*. Prov. 20. 5.

Chap. IX.

An exhortation to the entring into this fellowship. Some motives. Christians strengthned against tentations. God better served. The mutuall benefit of it.

HAving thus set up the *structure*, it now only remaines, that I open the *portal* of this *Temple* of *Divine fellowship*, and invite the *passers-by* to come in. Here is place for such as are already in a *marriage-fellowship*, if they be heyres together of the grace of life. Let them consider they are in a *state* that *shadoweth* out the mysticall and heavenly communion betwixt Christ and his Church. Let them *worship God together*, help one another forward toward Heaven, *pray together*, be acquainted with one anothers *bosomes and spirituall estates*, submit to each others *advice*, yea let *Manoah* not disdain the words of his *wife* if she have made a better observation of *God* in his *proceedings* and the course of his providence. But chiefely let not *Job* omit to reprove his *wife*, if she speake like one of the *foolish women*. Here *Widowes* may *recover* and make up abundantly An Invitation into Christian fellowship. 1 Pet. 3 7. Ephes. 5. Jud. 13. 23. Job 2.

abundantly all the *comfort* and much more then they lost in their *husbands, caring for the things of the Lord, being holy both in body and in spirit.* Here *brothers*, and *sisters*, and *kindred*, may find themselves by the same name in an other and *better relation.* Here *servants* also are in some sense made the *Lords freemen*, being not as *servants*, but *above servants, as brethren beloved*, as St *Paul* would have *Philemon* to account *Onesimus* who was converted to the *faith.* I cannot but mention it unto the honour of that famous man, Mr *Bruen* of *Stapleford*, who, to use the phrase of Scripture, *had a Church in his house*, what respect he gave even to his *servants* that feared God, counting and calling them *brethren*, praying often with them, and they also with him. Here also, *friends, acquaintance, neighbours, partners, fellow-collegiates, brothers of companies*, and in a word, all that in any respect doe *relate* unto one another, may have *place*, and an occasion of a more *close* and *holy correspondency.*

1 Cor. 7. 22. Phile. v. 16.

But what shall I say, how shall I *invite* men into this society. If there were no other motives, the very condition of the *present times*, might be one. How doe the *times* rage against all that are *godly. Lyons*, and *Wolves*, and *Tygers*, and *Foxes*, doe associate themselves, and are assembled into *bodies*, into *Armies. Papists, Prelaticall spirits, Atheists, profane scoffers, rusling Cavaliers, bloudy Irish*, are in bands together, and in an agreement to roote out, if not the name of *protestancie*, yet the *power of godlinesse.* Let even this make them that feare the Lord, *meet, keepe, pray*, and *humble themselves* together. But we have also other motives.

Temptations best resisted by fellowship.

1. We have other *enemies* besides *evill men*, namely *spiritual wickednesses*, whose *temptations* we shall be the better inabled to *resist*, when our *forces* are *united.* In respect of this *order*, the Church is said to be, *Terrible as an Army with banners.* Straglers, and those that goe alone, are often snatcht up, *They were scattered*, saith the Prophet, *and they became meate to all the beasts of the field, when they were scattered.* How easie is it, to pervert one to *Popery, Familisme*, or any other dangerous error, who neglects the benefit of *others help.* But the *knowing head*, and the *honest heart*, may agree in this way to *succour* one another when tempted and ensnared. As *Joab* said to *Abishai. If the Syrians be too strong for me, then thou shalt help me; but if the children of Ammon be*

Cant. 6. 10.

Exe. 34. 6.

2 Sam. 10. 11.

too

too ſtrong for thee, then I will come and help thee. So if *pride* be too *ſtrong* for the *knowing head*, let the *plain heart* admoniſh him; and if the *cunning ſeducer* be too *ſtrong* for the *honeſt heart*, let the knowing head *clearely informe* him. So ſhall there be a ſufficient *defence* againſt the temptations both of *luſts* and *errors*.

2. Hereby, and in this way God ſhall be the better ſerved: when *a people of a pure language, doe all call upon the name of the Lord, to ſerve him with one conſent*; or, with one ſhoulder. Therefore God hath *covenanted*, to give his people *one heart*, and *one way*, that they may *feare him*. And as if God could not be *glorified*, where there is not an *agreement* among them that worſhip, he thus prayes for the *Romanes*, *The God of patience and conſolation grant you to be like minded towards one another, that ye may with one mind, and one mouth glorifie God, the father of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt.* God better ſerved in fellowſhip. Zeph. 3. 9. Jer. 32. 39. Rom. 15. 5, 6.

3. The Saints are hereby *mutually benefited*. *Iron ſharpeneth iron: ſo a man ſharpeneth the countenance of his friend.* It may be *Salomon* meant it of angry words and *paſſionate* ſpeeches; but we may apply the *phraſes* and *language* of the *Aphoriſme* to a mutuall *whetting* of parts, *ſtirring* up of gifts, and *enkindling* of graces. For in ſociety, *all* doe enjoy the good of *all*, the *ſun* hath the *eyes* light, and the *eye* hath the ſervice of the *ſun* to walke. *Two are better then one, becauſe they have a good reward*, (that is good fruit) *of their labour, for if they fall, the one will lift up his fellow.* Such as are ſpirituall will reſtore them that are fallen, in the ſpirit of meekneſſe. *But woe to him that is alone when he falleth*, either into temptation, or after it into a deſertion, *for he hath not another to help him up.* Again, *if two lye together, then they have heate.* Did not Chriſt warme thoſe in whoſe company he went towards *Emaus*? But *how can one be warme alone?* We grow cold and dull under the beſt helpes. But how did *Joaſh* goe back from all his *ſhewes* and *forwardneſſe*, when *Jehojada* was dead? We have yet one other inſtance in that place of *Salomon*. *If one prevaile againſt him*, (ſaith he) *two ſhall withſtand him, and a threefold cord is not quickly broken.* A *proverbiall* ſpeech, uſually applied in the commendation of ſociety. *Moſes*, *Aaron* and *Hur* made up together ſuch a *threefold cord*, which was not eaſily broken through faintneſſe and wearineſſe in prayer. The *ſtory* is this, when *Iſrael* fought againſt *Amalek*, while *Joſhua* with the Army were below in the battell, Saints much benefited in fellowſhip. Pro. 27. 17. Eccl. 4. 9, 10, 11, 12. Ex. 17. 12.

battell, *Moses*, *Aaron* and *Hur* went to the top of the hill, where *Moses* was to hold up the *rod* of God as a *signall*, and to pray. At length when through continuance all day, *Moses* fainted, *Aaron* and *Hur* helped to sustain him and hold up his hands, not only to hold forth the *rod*, but in all probability joining with him in *prayer*, assisting his *fervency*, and as it is likely now and then *suggesting matter* of prayer and *arguments*. So that with their help, he continued all the day, till the going down of the Sunne, holding up the *rod* in the sight of the Army, and *lifting up* his *hands* in *prayer*, till *Amalek* was quite discomfited. And into such a *threefold cord*, *Daniel* also *twisted* himself in prayer: for when by the commandment of *Nebuchadnezzar*, all the *wise-men* or *Chaldeans* about the *Court* were to be put to death, because they could not tell to the *King* his *dreame* and the *meaning* of it. *Daniel* being educated in one of their *colledges*, fearing lest he should suffer under the same cruell sentence, undertook the *matter*, to reveale unto the *King* his *dreame*; but he undertook it not in his own strength, but trusting in God, and being to obtain that *secret* from *Heaven*, he wisely makes use of his *three friends* to improve their strength with him and their acquaintance with God. The *text* is expresse; *Then Daniel went to his house, and made the thing* (that is, the businesse that he had undertaken) *known to Hananiah, Mishael and Azariah, his companions, that they would desire mercies of the God of Heaven concerning this secret.* *Daniel* himself sought those mercies from before God, but behold he calls in others also to assist, with whom no doubt he had been wont at other times to *meet* in prayer. And now, whether he *together* with them, or he *apart*, and they *apart*, we are uncertain, but their petitions met at the same *threefold* before God, and were *returned* with *successe*. It were easie here to multiply *instances* and *histories* of great things done and obtained by people joyning *together in prayer* and *humiliation*; there is scarce any man that hath been acquainted with this *course*, but hath somewhat or other upon the *file*, and upon *record* in his own *memory* and *thoughts*. And how many examples also might be remembred, of brave *courage*, magnanimity and resolution, that *Christians* have *fired* one anothers breasts withall. Many times the very society of a *prison*, and of lying together in the *stocks* and in *chaines*, hath rendred some fainting and otherwise *drooping*

Dan. 1. 17, 18.

spirits

ſpirit, thorough the bleſſing of God, *invincible*. The *Acts* and *Monuments* collected by Mr *Fox*, is full of proofes of this. It was ſo at the firſt in that ſociety which the Apoſtles had with with our *Lord* and *Maſter* and theirs. 'Tis ſaid, *When the rulers ſaw the boldneſſe of* Peter *and* John, *and perceived that they were unlearned and ignorant men, they mervailed*; (as well they might, for poore *fiſher-men*, unacquainted with *Courts* and *Tribunals*, to plead the cauſe of Chriſt with ſo much *braveneſſe* and *ſpirit*, but it followes in the ſame *text*, which indeed takes away all the wonder, that) *they tooke knowledge of them, that they had been with Jeſus*. And Acts 4.13.
laſtly how doth ſociety ſometimes alter the very temper and frame of *whole converſation*. *Saul* had a *new ſpirit* put upon him, when he was appointed by God to be *King*. For though I underſtand that place in, 1 *Sam.* 18.10. where it is ſaid, *He prophecied in the midſt of the houſe*, that he was in a *frantick fit*, and behaved himſelf *madly* and furiouſly, like one in a *rapture*. And though I know not what to ſay, to what we reade, 1 *Sam.* 19.20,21,22,23. that *Sauls Meſſengers* and himſelf *prophecied*, when they came into the company of the *Prophets*; unleſſe they were *rapt*, and *miraculouſly ſtricken* with aſtoniſhment and admiration, ſo that whereas they came with a purpoſe to apprehend *David*, they could not doe it, and as for *Saul*, he was forced to lay off his *military habit* and *Armes*, and therefore ſaid to lye down *naked*. Yet, 1 *Sam.* 10.6. ſeemes otherwiſe to be underſtood, that God meant to fit *Saul* for the *government*, by *tempering* and *forming* his *ſpirit* in the *company* of the *Prophets*: for ſo *Samuel* ſaid unto him, *Thou ſhalt meet a company of Prophets, and the Spirit of the Lord will come upon thee, and thou ſhalt prophecy with them, and ſhalt be turned into another man*. Behold the wonderfull effect and power of ſociety.

CHAP. X.

The Exhortation further urged. A fourth Motive, The comelineſſe of this fellowſhip. The concluſion.

4. I Have reſerved one other *motive*, wherewith to ſhut up this *Exhortation*, and that is, the *pleaſantneſſe* and *comelineſſe* of this. Chriſtian fellowſhip is comely.

this *fellowship*. They are the words of the Psalmist. *How good and*
Psa. 133 1,&c. *how pleasant is it for brethren to dwell together in unity.* How good it is, hath appeared by the former *motives*, and 'tis so *pleasant*, that he invites mens eyes unto it, *Behold* how pleasant is it. *It is like the pretious oyntment upon the head, that ran down upon the beard, even Aarons beard, that went down to the skirts of his garments.* That ointment was pretious and fragrant and yeelded a most pleasant sent. The *balsame* of *Hiericho* which was the chiefest *ingredient* of that oyntment, is counted to be the richest in the world. Nothing more *delicate* and *sweet* then the *communion of Saints* it is that, that becommeth the Gospell, as the Apostle speakes to the
Phil. 1, 27. Philippians, *Only let your conversation be as becommeth the Gospell of Christ, that whether I come and see you, or else be absent, I may heare of your affaires, that ye stand fast in one spirit, with one mind, striving together for the faith of the Gospell.* The *Queen* of *Sheba* when she beheld the *order* of *Salomons family*, she was
1 King. 10 8. so taken with delight and admiration, that there was *no spirit left in her*, but cryed out, *happy are thy men, happy are these thy servants, which stand continually before thee.* But behold a more *beautifull order* is here. What a comely thing is it for Christians so to converse, as that they *enrich* each other, and maintain such a *watch*, that no *discord* can arise, but if any difference be occasioned and begin but to appeare between any, it is presently *observed* and *gravely, prudently, seasonably quashed* and *layed*. It seemes it was the care of *Jacob* in his *great family*, and it was the *glory* of it, which even his *heathen* neighbours took notice of, and commended, *That they lived peaceably*. The *comeliness* of this sweet agreement will the better appeare if it be set off with a *stile*. If we cast our eye upon the *unhandsome* yea *ugly* face of *discord*, notably described by that great *Italian*, to be *cloathed* with a *garment of sundry colours*, made up of *patches*, and yet those also *rent*, *cut* and *torne*; her *lap* full of *Writs*, *Citations*, *Processes*, *Arrests*, attended only with *Scriveners*, *Clarkes*, *Lawyers* and *Attorneyes*, and followed with loud *clamours*, *bawlings* and *confused shouts*. And even thus the
Tit. 3. 3. Apostle describes the condition and conversation of *carnall* and *unregenerate* men, that they *live in malice and envy, hatefull and hating one another*. A course of life so unbeseeming the profession of Christianity, that the Apostle not only saith it would be to the

shame

ſhame of the Church at *Corinth*, if their differences were not taken up by *bretheren*, but demandes of them how they *dared* to doe otherwiſe. 1 Cor. 6. 1, 5.

I have writ theſe things to be *pin'd* upon the *front* of the *entrance* or *porch* of this *Temple*, that as *Themiſtocles* when he had an houſe to let, cauſed the cryer to proclaime *that it had good neighbours*; ſo I may *invite* men to come in, *aſſuring them* of *pleaſant accommodations* and *good company*: Which if any heed may be given to the reſolution of one of the *Rabbinicall Schooles*, is the beſt advantage we can meet with in our preſent journey. The *ſtory* is in *Pirke Aboth*, that when the *ſchollers* of *Rabbi Johannas* diſputed and contended which is the moſt *diſireable thing in this life*, the *ſentence* of *Rabbi Joſe* was prefer'd and moſt commended, who ſaid, *The beſt way is a good neighbour*. Hence the *Naturaliſts* doe obſerve, that the *Piſmires* which are reckoned among the moſt *ſagacious* creatures, and the *Bees* which are among the moſt *uſefull*, and the *Elephants* among the moſt *potent*, are for *communion*, and doe *gather* and *keep* together. And the *excellency* of other *creatures* is in their *communication* of themſelves, the *Sunne raying* out his warme and cheriſhing beames, the *Fountain* bubling out his *purling ſtreames*, the *Earth* yeilding forth *ſoveraign herbs* and *plants*: And *Chriſtians* are then in their *excellency* when they are *communicative* and *uſefull*; nay they *encreaſe* by *communicating*, and *gaine* by *giving away* and *imparting* of their *gifts*. There is a *ſtory* in *Peter Martyrs Hiſtory* of the *Weſt Indies*, of ſome *Mountains of Salt* in *Cumana* which never *diminiſhed* though carried away in abundance by the *Merchants*, but when a *Monopoly* was made of it, being *expoſed* to *ſale*, and men being *prohibited* otherwiſe from *taking of it away*, then it *decreaſed*, till afterwards that all were again allowed to take of it, it had a *new acceſſe* and *encreaſe*. I know not whether this *relation* of his be true, but ſure I am, I am right in my *application*. He that *envies* unto others the uſe of his *gifts*, *decayes* them, but he *thrives* moſt, that is moſt *diffuſive*. The Application.

FINIS.

FINIS.

A LETTER TO THE Lord Grey of Grooby.

Wherein is declared a great victory obtained by the Parliaments Forces neere Hinkeley, *Where they have*

Slain
- Captain *Manwaring*,
- 12 Common Souldiers.

Taken Prisoners,
- Lieu. *Grey*, brother to the Lord *Greys* Cornet,
- Lieutenant *Rawlings*,
- Quartermaster *Deckins*,
- Col: *Nevels* Trumpeter with a silver Trumpet.
- 44 Common Souldiers,

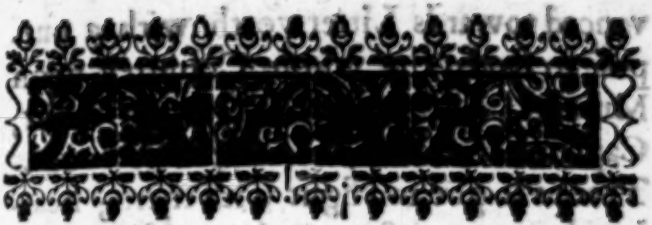
Surprised,
- Many Armes,
- 150 Horse,
- 80 Heads of Cattle,
- Divers packs of Ammunition.

Whereof they have rescued 2 *Ministers, &* 30 *Countrey men. Which the enemy had taken Prisoners.*

March 13 1643

Printed for *Andrew Coe*, according to Order, 1644.

A LETTER



A LETTER TO The Lord Grey of Grooby.

RIGHT HONORABLE,

UPon *Sunday night about eleven a clock I received advertisement from Captaine* BODLE, *that the enemy past Nielson, with three hundred and fifty horse, and advanced*

vanced towards Litterworth with a purpose to sweep the whole Countrey upon Munday, I drew forth Major BINGLEY, Captaine HACKERS, and Captaine BODELS Troops to goe and fight with them; hearing they were at Sutton, but missing them there; I marcht to Hinkley hearing they would quarter there that night, I came to Hinkley about seven a clock where I found all passage into the Town blockt up about halfe a mile from the Towne, I tooke one of their Scouts, who affirmed them to be three hundred horse and fiftie Dragoones, and that they had been in their Quarters two houres, I entred the Town at the end towards Barwell, first causing my Dragoons to light by the Mils, where I left their horses with a small Guard, and caused my Dragoons to advance with the Forlorn hope of thirtie horse, commanded by Captaine FITZGARRET to force the passage which after some resistance, was effected:

My

My ſelfe with the ſmall body that I had, one hundred and twentie charged up to the Croſſe, where I found the Enemy in a body, and after one quarter of an hours fight wee beat them out of the Towne, being in the field they Rallied againe, and were advancing to charge us, wherupon I drew up my Dragoons, and cauſed them to advance with my horſe into the field, where after ſome ſhots made, the Enemy gave way, then I charged them againe, with my horſe which they ſtood not to receive, but wheeld off and fled, I purſued them above halfe a mile, but being in the night and in a dirty Countrey, I thought it not ſafe to purſue them any further, knowing they were as many more as I had. There were ſlaine of the Enemy one Captain MANWARING, of common Souldiers about twelve, but I am confident there were many wonnded. For I heare that there

were

were ſome went into houſes and died by the way. I have Priſoners Lieutenant GREY your Lordſhips Brother) Lieutenant RAWLINGS, quartermaſter DECKENS, one Trumpetter with his ſilver trumpet, foure and forty common ſouldiers, a great many armes which I gave moſt unto Captatne BODLE, for his Treope and Dragoons, we took above one hundred and fifty horſes, eightie head of Cattle, and divers packs with ſome Ammuuition I releaſed two Miniſters, Priſoners, and thirtie Countrymen taken from Cosby and Laer, the Horſe and Cattle being moſt taken from our Friends were moſt reſtored, ſome little ſatisfacti-

on

on being made to the Souldiers, this was done with 120 Horſe and 50 of Muſquettiers of my Coſen Greys Company, his Lievtenant is a very brave man, whom your Lordſhip muſt needs think off, the Enemie by my coſen Greys confeſsion were 300: being three troops that came out of Newarke, two of Lichfield: one of the Lord of LOUGHBOROUGHS; one from Tiſſington, and one from VViverton, beſides Dragoons, the Trumpet ſaith ſixty, my Coſen acknowledgeth twenty: The glory I wholy aſcribe unto God of this action, I acknowledge it was his hand, and not ours that defeated the Enemy. For certainly had they ſtood to it, when they

they were got into a body in the field, we ſhould have had the worſt of it, My Lord, I hope, by my next to ſend your Lordſhip good news: From Newarke, In the mean time I am

Right Honorable

Your moſt faithfull Servant,

Henry Grey.

Leiceſter the ſixth of March, 1643.

Publiſhed according to Order.

Number 7.

The Spie,

Communicating Intelligence from Oxford.

From *Tueſday* the 5. of *March*, to *Tueſday* the 13. 1643

IF you peruſe *Aulicus* this week, you may reade in every line that the firſt of *March* is paſt, and that the *Spring* is very forward with his brains: For his phanſie revives, and every line is elevated to the true height of villanie. I have cenſured his former *Mercuries* to be but as ſo many flaſhes of confidence and impudence; but now in every page I reade Characters of deſperation: And when men are come to this paſſe, they uſually take liberty to vent themſelves, even as *Malefactors* do at the time of execution. Hence it is, that for theſe two or three weeks laſt paſt, their *Oxford* Preſſe hath been delivered of ſuch monſtrous births of ſlander againſt our moſt excellent *Councel of State*, and the *Reverend aſſemblie of Divines*, that it requires amazement, rather than an anſwer. At *Oxford* he is accounted the moſt loyall ſubject, the moſt affectionate ſouldier, the beſt Orator, which can moſt readily imploy himſelf, his tongue, his pen, to traduce the Parliament and their proceedings. Amongſt thoſe many, *Aulicus* is the chief; he is ſome dabbler in Divinity that deals with *Machiavil* and *Bellarmine* (the grand double Iugge I mean) oftener then the Bible; And becauſe hee aimes at preferment, likes not the Proteſtant Religion without Epiſcopacie, which hee hopes to merit ſufficiently by his weekly, malicious railing: And therefore he thinks all his language

loſt, which ſtrikes not at the chiet *Members of State.* Oh! This ſame honourable *Councel of State* doth ſo ſtick in his ſtomach, that nothing can eaſe him, but vomiting up of filthy venomous matter. He calls them *tyrants*, and ſaies, *these 25. Tyrants (like those 30. at* Athens) *have for preſent obtained to ſit for three moneths.* Theſe whom thou calleſt Tyrants, *Aulicus*, have been thought worthy to mannage the affairs of the Kingdom, that they might (if it were poſſible) in the ſpace of 3. moneths drive thoſe cruell tyrants and forwarders of Tyrannie, out of our *Engliſh Athens*, the once famous, now infamous *Univerſie of Oxford*, where there are far more then 30. tyrants, many hundreds drunk with the blood of thouſands, and have conſpired to morter the foundation of Tyrannie and Poperie with blood, and ſo to build up their deſprate fortunes, though with the ruine of the Kingdome.

He calls us *Rebels*, and ſaies, *wee now appear in our own likeneſſe*: Now the Devill, devilliſh *Aulicus*, appeares in his own likeneſſe: you may ſee whoſe child he is, when he cannot abide that men ſhould appear like themſelves: *Hypocriſie* and he, are all one, and they have many familiars and acquaintance at *Oxford*, which muſt not as yet appear abroad in their own likeneſſe, though in private they can be like themſelves, or like any thing that will pleaſe, and ſo work them a likely way to preferment. There are *Colledges* as like *Monaſteries* as can be in the *in-ſide*, though the *out-ſides* repreſent them as they were formerly: They looke as they did in Queen *Elizabeths* dayes on the ſtreet-ſide, but if you go in, you will finde *Henry* the 8. his *Reformation* in the Chappel: There is *Chriſt-Church Cathedrall* the out-ſide as like an *Engliſh* Church as can be: Only ſome fooliſh Painters of late, who knew not when it was well, ſpoyled the likeneſſe of it with too much painting, and dawbed it into the *Roman* faſhion. There are Biſhops which look as like Fathers of the Church as can be, but look under their Lawn-ſleeves, and you will finde Fox-furre enough to ſtuffe a Cardinalls Cap, and inſtruct you what kinde of Beaſts they are, and from what Paſtour they have their paſture. There are many honeſt men too, *Aulicus* that dare not appear like themſelves; but I hope ere long they will remember to appear, as wee do, like themſelves, and give an apparent teſtimony of their honeſty unto the World.

He ſaies, *we are far from ſubmiſſion to his Maj-ſtie.* No farther, *Aulicus*, then *London* is from *Oxford*: And that is but a ſmall ſtep, if his Majeſty would be pleaſed to conſider it, and return to thoſe who would receive him with all ſubmiſſion.

He ſaies, *this latter Rebellion runs wholly againſt Monarchie*, Hee means in *Ireland* and in *Oxford*. He

He tell us of the *Oath of secresie* in the *Councell of State, that they shall not any way revcale the desiones and consultations of the Councell without licence granted by the Major part of the Councell.* Thou hast reason enough to be sorry for this, *Aulicus*, if thou knewest all: And one reason is, because now thou shall not know all as thou hast done.

He tells us, *that most of the Councell of State have places of trust in the Army, and may strike up a sudden businesse which the other Members thinke not of.* Yes *Aulicus*: And we hope they will performe businesses so speedily to the benefit and honour of the Commonwealth, and make such quick work with you, that you will hardly be aware of it, or we in the least-wise imagine it.

He saies, *that since the erection of the Councell of State, the other Members have onely the privilege to become* Wooll-pack-men, *or enjoy a Walkers place in* West minster *hall.* And walke there they will *Aulicus*, I pray you bespeake Prince *Rupert* to come, and plunder their Wooll-packes: They are easier to sit on than the Wooll-packes whereon the corruptions of the Law (Judges I meane) do sit in your pretended *house of Peers* in *Oxford.*

Aulicus keepes still the same method of slaunder; and after the vile abuses cast upon the *Councell of State*, the next bout is at the *Solemne League and Covenant*, and saies *it is to ensnare others.* They are happie who are thus ensnared, to have their soules and Consciences fastened by so sincere an obligation with the rest of their Brethren to the maintenance of the Gospell now by you endanged to be lost.

In the next place he tells us, *This Oath and League is like a Gypsies knot, fast and loose at pleasure.* Thus he confounds himselfe: a little before he calls it a *Snare to catch men*, and now he will have it, *to be fast and loose at pleasure:* That is a pretty snare which will be fast and loose at pleasure, is it not? This *lie Aulicus*, was an ill-contrived snare to catch beliefe. I could wish you, if you meane to hold on, to take somewhat to strengthen your memory, lest the invention of the second line spoile the former. *Mendacem memorem esse oportet.*

He tells us that on *Ash-Wednesday last, there grew so kindly a heate in the Assembly betweene Master* Nye *and Master* Hederson, *that the* Moderator *could not possibly reduce them to any calmnesse.* Thou seest *Aulicus*, that the Assembly consists of men that are zealous, and warme in their Religion, that debate not matters so coldly, so like *March* weather that they are ready to change their opinions with every blast, as most of thy brethren, the *parasitical Time-servers* at *Oxford* have done formerly; who were like to proove such arrant turne-coats, that they have almost turned the Protestant Religion

quite out of Doores, by turning *Episcopacie* into *Papacie*, The Communion-Table into an *Altar*, Ceremonies into Matters of Faith, Canonicall Coates and Copes into Fryers Cowles, and the whole Kingdome into the power of *Rome*: these men had so little hear, that they were quickly quenched with a little of *Canterburies* holy-water.

He tells us *that our holy League is equivocall worke*. I beleeve, *Aulicus*, that with you at *Oxford*, every things is equivocall, and that all things are circumscribed to a private sence inwardly, when externall actions speake them otherwise: *Equivocating* and *Mental reservation* are two maine engines of Poperie at a dead lift, wherewith you can heave your consciences over any thing and leape over all stiles and gaps to your owne ends. This made Sir *Richard Greenvill* so well qualified for *Oxford* Aire, with his Irish Conscience, that he could easily step over, not onely the bonds of Solemne Covenanting before God, but hath transgressed the very grounds of Nature, Reason, and Common Honesty: but we hope to see him returned one day and confesse his fault at the Gallowes (the reward of perfidious Hypocrites without any further *equivocation*.

He tels us, *that when one of the Lords urged for himselfe, that he hoped every man might take the Oath in his owne sence.* The Lord *Say* replyed, *God for-bid else but every man should take it in his owne sence.* We have alwaies observed, *Aulicus*, that thou art casting up dirt and mire in the face of that Noble true-hearted Lord; but the best of it is he is far out of the reach of your malice, as out of your power, and every Scandalous reproach which thou castest upon him is an addition to his honour.

After he hath *belyed the Councel of State*, abused the *Solemn League and Covenant*, and traduced the Lords, then he proceedes to relate the skirmishings of his partee abroad, and to make the best of them to deceive the people; And tells us of another skirmish in *Dorsetshire where ours out of* Wareham, *were stopt by part of the Lord* Inchiquins *Regiment at* Holme *bridge three miles from* Wareham, where it was sharpely disputed above 4. houres, till Captaine *Purdon* and his Lieutenant (two most valiant incomparable Officers he calls them) were both shot so as their men began to give back: That is, they ran away. But *Aulicus* by his good will would not have you harbour such a thought; And therefore he set his fancie on worke, to draw out a skirmish to the life; And tels you, *he must acquaint you with a peece of Gallant and matchlesse Courage in Captaine* Purdon; *and his Lievtenant, who though they had but 25. souldiers, and 20. horse not a man more* he saies; but I will assure you they would make a tolerable company

of

of foote, and Troope of horſe at *Oxford*: yet they did fight almoſt five hours at this Bridge, with above 300. Horſe and Foote of ours; and withſtood all their muskes and carbines, till ten of the Capt. 25. foot were ſore wounded, himſelf and Lieutenant dangerouſly ſhot, ſo as they both fell down, yet would by no means be carried off, but cauſed his men to lay him and his Leivtenant at the brink of the Bridge, and commanded them not to leave the place, or him, while he lived; and (if he bled to death as he lay) not to leave his body till ſome friends might come into their releefe. Now what will *Aulicus* do to phanſie ſome reliefe and get a victory; very eaſily, for he hath a Miracle to tell of the Captaine and a ſupply of new Forces come to them: He ſaies, *the Capt. himſelf* (as he lay) *diſcharged his piſtoll three or foure times againſt them, at 5. yards diſtance, by which unexpreſſable valour they were ſtil kept off, though they preſſed hard for the Captain* (O rare *Aulicus*. I proteſt he was a gallant Capt. to lye all along as thou doſt, and keep off 300. Armed men.) *Til at laſt our men* (ſee how releif drops down from heaven juſt in the Nick for the good of their cauſe) *ſpying ſome freſh Forces from the Iſle of Purbeck, ran away to Wareham, leaving 4. of their men dead behind them whom the Captain had the pleaſure to ſee ſtript, and not onely got their fine new Saddles, Carbines, and clothes* (ſent lately from *London*) *but took alſo eight Cart-load of Hay and other proviſion.* He will confeſſe that the Capt. had 12. men wounded but not a man killed (alas our men uſe to ſhoot without bullets) *ſave the valiant Leivt. who bled to death as he lay on the ground, though all the while he encouraged the Souldiers with more cheerfull expreſſions than you can eaſily imagine.* Yes we can eaſily imagine how a man which bled to death can encourage Souldiers. *The Capt. he doubts not, will recover againe.* But that ſome revenge may be ſpoken of for his wounds, He tels us that the valiant tru-hearted *Captain Sydenham commanded in Chiefe in this action on our ſide*, but he ſaies, *'tis confidently affirmed he is ſince dead of his wounds, being ſhot into his belly.* This *lye*, *Aulicus*, is affirmed, I doubt not, with as much confidence, as that was about 3. weeks ago concerning his death but take heed this fixton of yours be not ſpoiled with a 2d *reſurrection*.

He tels us of *our men being beaten from* Hilſdon *houſe*. Aske Sir *Alexander Denton*, his brother Coll. *Smith*, and Leivtenant Col. *Iames* They can informe you better.

He tels us *that they have a contribution ſetled in the County of Worceſter*. If it be ſo, it is for feare of plundring.

He tels us, *that for three weekes together we have ſpread a vaine report, that divers of the Nobility have deſerted his Maieſtie.* Which becauſe he would not have the world beleeve, he hath invented a moſt compleat letter with the Lords own hands to it, as readily as if it were

were ſo indeed, which letter he ſaies was written *to the Lords of the Privie Councell and Conſervators of the peace of the Kingdome of Scotland.* This forged letter is of the ſame Originall with that which he fained a while ago to be ſent from *Glemham* to our Brethren of *Scotland.* His braines are at leaſt Couſin-German to, if not the ſame with his which penned that letter, for the matter is the ſame, and the ſence a kinde of collection out of that deſperate and poyſonous paper: And yet it is ſubſcribed very ſmoothly in *Mercurius Aulicus* with

Your Lordſhips
moſt affectionate humble Servants

Ed. Littleton C. S. *L. Cottington, D. Richmond, M. Heartford, M. Newcaſtle, E. Dorſet, E. Briſtoll,* with others to a very fine Number, if we reckon the *Vpſtarts,* according to his account. A man might give you pretty Characters now we have their names in a Liſt; But I ſhall leave that taske to *Britannicus.*

Aulicus alleadges Sir *Richard Greenvills* Apoſtacie as an argument for the goodneſſe of their cauſe, and ſaies, *If this letter be not ſufficient to convince the Reader of the equity of his Majeſties cauſe, let him take notice that* Sir Richard Greenvill *came into his Majeſties Quarters at* Reading, *and hath layed downe his Commiſſion at his Majeſties feete.* If this be one of your Arguments *Aulicus,* we then may gueſſe thence what the reſt are: it ſeemes in your eſtimation, perfidiouſneſſe is a commendable quality, that you make it a main ground whereon to build the Reputation of your enterprizes; But Sir *Richard* had too much of *Ireland* to be good in *England,* and too many plundered *Iriſh* goods landed at *Briſtall,* to ſtay long here.

He tells us, *that in the midſt of the offers made to* Sir Richard, *he ſhook off us and our cauſe.* He hath ſhooke it off indeed, but how will he ſpeake of the League and Covenant, whereto he ſwore ſo ſolemnly, I feare when the terrours of death ſhall ſeize upon his body, his affrighted ſoule will be Covenant-ſhaken, and the Devill raiſe an earth-quake in his Conſcience.

I am now come to the laſt part of *Aulicus* his Method, and that is his belying the *Scots.* He ſaies *that the Marqueſſe of Newcaſtle gave the Scots another Remembrance:* Be not too haſtie to upbraide them with kindneſſe, for they will not die in his debt.

He tels us *that Leiſley is contented to retreat, upon Condition that the Articles agreed upon at the laſt Pacification may ſtand inviolable.* This is as true, as if he had ſaid it was one of the conditions of their National Obligation to returne into *Scotland* without doing their work firſt.

He tells us, *That the Lord Generall Leiſley ſhould ſend* Sir Thomas Fairfax

Fairfax word, *that if hee did not speedily advance to him with his horse, they must of necessity retreat toward* Scotland. But the Marquesse shall finde, that they have resolution enough to make a vertue of necessity, and increase his necessities.

He tels us, *that* 1000. *of our horse faced Sir* Marmaduke Langdale, *while our foot crept up the River* Tine, *towards* Cumberland. Yes, and in stead of facing ours again, Sir *Marmaduke* turned his back; and whereas our foot crept up the River, he with his horse and foot made a little more hast down the River.

He tels us, *That two thousand voluntiers are come out of* Cumberland, *to joyne with the Marquesse of* Newcastle: *That six thousand out of* Ireland *are landed in the North of* Scotland: *That two thousand resolute* Irish *lately landed at* White-haven *in* Cumberland; *That there are four thousand more,* Cumberland men *and* Irish, *and all met together to serve under the Marquesse.* All these thousands will not weigh down a grain of truth.

The Intelligence.

THe Letter sent from the *Prince Elector* to the Parliament is much stomack'd by the *Oxford* partee; and hath occasioned many serious debates lately in their *pretended Parliament*: but that which they most stumble at is, that he should acknowledge the Parliament at *Westminster* a true Parliament, and stile the Nationall Covenant of *England* and *Scotland a loyall and pious Covenant*, and wish them *all successe and happinesse upon their proceedings in pursuance thereof*: Some cry out, it were impossible hee should do this, if hee had any of the Blood-royall in his veines: Others say, he degenerates, and hath too much phlegme to be a *Prince*. But I say he hath too much of Royalty, conscionable moderation to be brother to *Rupert*, or to have any hand in the affaires of this ignoble and unnaturall war against the Parliament and Kingdome: but that hellish crue of Rebels against their countrey, cannot indure him, because he is not of a constitution for tyrannie, nor of a luke-warm temper, pliable to entertain Poperie.

The States Ambassadors returned on *Thursday* last; but we cannot understand here of any Propositions for Peace brought by them, as was expected; and I suppose you will hear of none at all: for they could not agree at *Oxford* to draw them upon such a form, as to acknowledge a Parliament here; and to draw them up otherwise, were to put a delusive Message into their hands. Therefore they resolved rather to follow their old mysterious course of accusing the Parliament in obscure Characters, by a messenger from the Earl of *Forth*. For on *Tuesday* there came a Trumpeter to his Excellencie the Earl of *Essex* with

with a Letter from his Majesty, directed in these words: *To the Lords and Commons of Parliament assembled at Westminster.* Here you must give me leave to undeceive many people, which think very hardly of the Parliament, because (say they) we heare of many Messages from his Majesty for peace, expressing great and earnest desires thereof, and yet there are no returns made by the Parliamant to that effect. Such words as these are often bandied from the mouths of ignorant people; and the *Oxford* partee know it very well, which makes them pretend so many Messages for peace on purpose to gain a good opinion among the vulgar, especially in the more remote *Western* parts, where the scattered impressions of *Bristol* are frequent, and comunicate all matters according to this sense. But I would have the world to take notice of the vanity of such Messages as these, and to conceive them as they are, no other, but Mock-messages: For what else can we call them, when the ancient *decorum*, in terms of expression, from the King to his Parliament is not kept; but the addresses made are so ful of whimzie, that men cannot tell where to have them, nor what to say to them? Rather then these pretenders for peace would have any, they will spoil all with a *Monosyllabum*, a word of two letters, and place *Of* for *In*, *To the Parliament of Westminster*, *for to the Parliament in Westminster*: For they conceive, that to acknowledge the Parliament in *Westminster*, were to Out their pretended members there from being a Parliament, which sense wil not stand with their designes; for as there is a Parliament in *Westminster*, there can be none abroad any where else all the people know; and therefore they say, *of Westminster*; but this is too great folly to be of any moment with the wise & judicious.

Much rejoycing there is at *Oxford* in the *Apostacy* of Sir *Richard Greenvil*, but I believe, shortly they will have no such reason: Sir *Richard* himself hath not much joy in the businesse as yet; for his reward comes slowly on, & in time he may have some petty preferment.

There were many rumors formerly concerning the Princes journey into *Wales* this *Spring*; but it is thought that designe is put upon Prince *Rupert*, because his Majesty is very unwilling to let him be at such a distance from him.

The *Oxonians* are very solicitous of gaining the Kings children here at St. *Iames*, into their hands, and cast about which way they might procure them; but they may wrack their brains in the business long enough; God Almighty hath better provided for those Royall branches, then that they should ever come within their reach, and kept them free from the taint of this most horrid rebellion against the Parliament and Kingdome.

Printed according to Order for I. F.

HIS

MAIESTIES LETTER,

DIRECTED

To the Lords and Commons of PARLIAMENT Assembled at WESTMINSTER:

CONCERNING

A Treaty for Peace.

With the Answer of both Houses thereunto; sent to His Majesty to *Oxford*, *March* 9. 1643.

Die Martis, 12 *Mart.* 1643.

ORdered this day by the Lords in Parliament, that the Printer belonging to the House of Peeres shall print His Majesties Letter dated the 3 of March; and the Answer thereunto sent to His Majesty from both Houses of Parliament, dated the 9 of this instant. And that no man shall presume to reprint the said Letter and Answer, as he will answer the contrary to this House at his perill.

J. Brown Cler. Parliamentorum.

LONDON,

Printed for *John Wright* in the Old-baily,

March. 13. 1643.

HIS MAIESTIES LETTER,

DIRECTED

To the Lords and Commons of PARLIAMENT Assembled at WESTMINSTER:

CONCERNING

A Treaty for Peace.

With the Answer of both Houses thereunto; sent to His Majesty to Oxford, March 9. 1643.

Die Martis, 12 Martii 1643.

Ordered, this day, by the Lords in Parliament, that the Printer belonging to the House of Peers, shall print His Majesties Letter dated the 3 of March 5, and the Answer thereunto sent to His Majesty from both Houses of Parliament dated the 9 of this Instant; and that no man shall presume to reprint the said Letter and Answer, as he will answer the contrary to this House at his perill.

J. Brown, Cler. Parliament.

LONDON

Printed for John Wright in the Old-bailey

March 13. 1643.

The Superſcription of the Letter was this:

TO THE

Lords and Commons of Parliament Aſſembled at *Weſtminſter.*

CHARLES REX,

OUt of Our moſt tender and pious ſence of the ſad and bleeding condition of this Our Kingdom, and Our unwearied deſires to apply all Remedies which by the bleſſing of Almighty God may recover it from an utter ruine; By the advice of the Lords and Commons of Parliament Aſſembled at Oxford, We doe propound and deſire, That a convenient number of fit perſons may be

appointed and authorized by you to meet (with all convenient speed, at such place as you shall nominate) with an equall number of fit persons, whom We shall appoint and authorize to Treat of the waies and meanes to settle the present distractions of this Our Kingdome, and to procure a happy Peace; And particularly, how all the Members of both Houses may securely meet in a free and full Convention of Parliament, there to treat, consult, and agree upon such things as may conduce to the maintenance and defence of the true Reformed Protestant Religion, with due consideration to all just and reasonable ease of tender consciences; To the setling and maintaining of Our just Rights and Prerogatives, of the Rights and Priviledges of Parliament, the Lawes of the Land, the Liberty and Property of the Subject, and all other expedients that may conduce to that blessed end of a firme and lasting Peace, both in Church and State, and a perfect understanding betwixt Us and Our People; wherein no endeavours or concurrency of Ours shall be wanting. And God direct your hearts in the waies of Peace. Oxford, the 3 of March. 1643.

May it please Your Majestie;

WE the Lords and Commons assembled in the Parliament of *England*, taking into our consideration a Letter sent from Your Majestie, dated the third of March instant, and directed, *To the Lords and Commons of Parliament assembled at Westminster* (which by the contents of a Letter from the Earle of *Forth* unto the Lord Generall the Earle of *Essex*, we conceive was intended to Our selves) have resolved, with the concurrent advice and consent of the Commissioners of the Kingdome of *Scotland*, to represent to Your Majesty in all humility, and plainnesse, as followeth:

THat as we have used all meanes for a just and a safe Peace; so will we never be wanting

ing

ing to doe our utmoſt for the procuring thereof: But when we conſider the Expreſſions in that Letter of Your Majeſties, we have more ſad and deſpairing thoughts of attaining the ſame, then ever; becauſe thereby thoſe perſons now aſſembled at *Oxford*, who contrary to their duty have deſerted Your Parliament, are put into an equall condition with it: And this preſent Parliament, convened according to the knowne and fundamentall Lawes of the Kingdome (the continuance whereof is eſtabliſhed by a Law conſented unto by Your Majeſty) is in effect denied to be a Parliament; the ſcope and intention of that Letter being, to make proviſion, how all the Members (as is pretended) of both Houſes may ſecurely meet in a full and free Convention of Parliament; whereof no other concluſion can be made, but that this preſent Parliament is not a full nor free Convention: And that to make it a full and free Convention of Parliament, the preſence of thoſe is neceſſary; who, notwithſtanding that they have deſerted that great Truſt, and doe leavy Warre againſt the Parliament, are pretended to be Members of the two Houſes of Parliament.

And hereupon we thinke our ſelves bound to

let

let Your Majeſty know, That ſeeing the continuance of this Parliament is ſetled by a Law (which as all other Laws of Your Kingdomes) Your Majeſtie hath ſworne to maintaine, as we are ſworne to our allegiance to Your Majeſty (theſe obligations being Reciprocall) we muſt in duty, and accordingly are reſolved with our Lives and Fortunes to defend and preſerve the juſt Rights and full Power of this Parliament; And doe beſeech Your Majeſty to bee aſſured, That Your Majeſties Royall and hearty concurrence with us herein, will be the moſt effectuall and ready meanes of procuring a firme and laſting Peace in all Your Majeſties Dominions; and of begetting a perfect Underſtanding betweene Your Majeſty and Your People: without which Your Majeſties moſt earneſt Profeſſions, and our moſt reall Intentions concerning the ſame, muſt neceſſarily bee fruſtrated. And in caſe Your Majeſties three Kingdomes ſhould by reaſon thereof remaine in this ſad and bleeding condition, tending (by the Continuance of this unnaturall warre) to their Ruine; Your Majeſty cannot bee the leaſt, nor the laſt Sufferer. God in his Goodneſſe, incline Your Royall breaſt, out of pitty and com-

compassion to these deepe sufferings of Your Innocent people, to put a speedy, and happy Issue to these desperate Evils, by the joynt Advice of both your Kingdomes now happily united in this Cause by their late solemne League and Covenant; which as it will prove the surest Remedy; so it is the earnest prayer of Your Majesties loyall Subjects, *The Lords and Commons assembled in the Parliament of England. Westminster, the 9. of March* 1643.

Wil. *Lord* Grey *of* Wark, *Speaker of the House of Peers* pro tempore.

Wil. Lenthall *Speaker of the House of Commons in Parliament.*

FINIS.

A LETTER

FROM

The Earle of Forth, to His Excellency *Robert* Earle of Essex, Lord Generall, &c. dated 15 *Feb.* 1643.

AND

His Excellencies Answer thereunto, dated 19 Febr. 1643.

March 8. 1643.

IT is his Excellencies pleasure these Letters be forthwith printed. *I. Baldwin Secretary to His Excellency.*

ALSO

A PETITION of the well-affected Nobility and Gentry of the Realm of *Ireland*, who have suffered under the bloody Rebels there; and presented to the Lords Justices, to be presented to His Majesty, which was done accordingly; and the Agents accepted to come to His Majesty.

Printed according to Order.

LONDON,
Printed for *J. C.* and *T. G.* 1643.

My Lord,

I Cannot ſo willingly write to you in any buſineſſe, as in that of Peace. The endeavour thereof being the principall duty of thoſe who are truſted in places of our Commands, eſpecially, when the blood that is ſpilt, is of perſons under the ſame Allegiance, of the ſame Countrey and Religion. His Majeſty continuing conſtant in His pious and frequent deſires of a happy end to thoſe bloody diſtractions. I doe hereby deſire your Lordſhip to ſend me a ſafe Conduct to and from *Weſtminſter*, for Mr. *Richard Fanſhaw*, and Mr. *Thomas Oſly*, Eſquires; to be ſent by His Majeſty, concerning a Treaty for Peace. I reſt

Your Lordſhips humble ſervant

Oxford, Feb. 15. 1643.

FORTH.

My Lord,

YOu ſhew your Nobleneſſe in declaring your willingneſſe to write to me in any buſineſſe as of that of Peace; and I joyn with you in the ſame opinion, that it ought to be a principall duty of thoſe who are truſted in a place of our command. And therefore whenſoever I ſhall receive any directions to thoſe who have entruſted me, I ſhall uſe my beſt endeavours; and when you ſhall ſend for a ſafe Conduct for thoſe Gentlemen mentioned in your Letter, from His Majeſty to the Houſes of Parliament, I ſhall with all chearefulneſſe ſhew my willingneſſe to further any way that may produce that happineſſe that all honeſt men pray for, which is a true underſtanding between His Majeſty and His faithfull and onely Counſell the Parliament.

Your Lordſhips humble ſervant.

Feb. 19. 1643.

ESSEX.

TO THE KINGS MOST Excellent Majeſtie.

The humble Petition of divers of Your Majeſties Proteſtant Subjects of Your Kingdome of *Ireland*, as well Commanders of Your Majeſties Army as others, whoſe names are ſubſcribed in the behalfe of themſelves and others your Proteſtant Subjects in this your Kingdome;

Sheweth,

THat this your Kingdome reduced with a vaſt expence of Treaſure, and much effuſion of Britiſh blood, to the obedience of the Imperiall Crowne of *England*, hath beene by the Princely care of Your Royall Progenitors, eſpecially of Queene *Elizabeth*, and of Your Royall Father of ever bleſſed memory, and Your ſacred Majeſty, in many parts happily planted, great ſums of Money diſburſed in buildings and improvements, Churches edified and endowed, and frequented with multitudes of good Proteſtants, and your Cuſtoms and Revenues raiſed to great yeerly ſummes by the induſtry of the Proteſtant Subjects eſpecially, and great yeerly ſummes by way of Subſidies and Contributions cheerfully paid unto Your Majeſtie by Your ſaid Subjects; In which happineſſe this Your ſaid Kingdom hath flouriſhed in a long continued Peace, and under Your Highneſſe moſt glorious and happy government, untill that by the preſent Conſpiracy and

and Rebellion raiſed out of deteſtation of Your bleſſed government, and for rooting out of the Proteſtant Religion, and ſo for the diſpoſſeſſing of Your Majeſty of this Your ſaid Kingdome, without the leaſt occaſion offered by Your Majeſty or Your Proteſtant Subjects. And notwithſtanding that Your Majeſtie immediately before had inlarged, beyond preſident, Your Royall favour and bounty to them, in granting all that their and our joynt Agents did deſire of Your Majeſtie. And we continuing amongſt them in all love and amitie, without diſtruſt; Your Petitioners and others, who laboured to oppoſe thoſe damnable deſignes and practices, have beene driven from their Dwellings, Eſtates and Fortunes, their Houſes and Churches burnt and demoliſhed, all Monuments of civility defaced vterly, Your Majeſties Forts and places of ſtrength throwne downe, and the Common and Statute Lawes of this Your Kingdome vtterly confounded, by taking upon themſelves the exerciſe of all manner of Authority and Juriſdiction Eccleſiaſticall and Civill both by Land and Sea, proper and peculiar to Your ſacred Majeſtie, being Your juſt Prerogatives, and the royall Flowers of Your Imperiall Diadem, to the diſtraction of Your Crowne and Revenues brought to nothing, and the Proteſtant Clergy, with their Revenues and Support, for the preſent deſtroyed. This Your Kingdome in all parts, formerly inhabited in all parts by Britiſh Proteſtants, now depopulated of them, and many thouſands of Your Proteſtant Subjects moſt barbarouſly uſed, ſtripped naked, tortured, famiſhed, hanged, buried alive, drowned, and otherwiſe by all barbarous cruell ſorts of death murdered. Such as yet remaine of them are reduced to that extremity, that very few of them have wherewithall to maintaine a being, and all of them ſo terrified and afflicted with theſe barbarous and inhumane cruelties (the true reports whereof being now ſpread abroad into the Chriſtian world) Your Suppliants conceive feare that Your Majeſties Britiſh Subjects will be diſcouraged from comming againe to inhabit this Kingdome, and the remnant of the Britiſh left here will be inforced to depart. All this being done by the Conſpiracy of the Papiſts, who did publikely declare the utter extirpation of the Proteſtant Religion, and all the Britiſh Profeſſors thereof, out of this Your Majeſties Kingdome. And to the end it may the better appeare in ſome meaſure, Your Suppliants have made choice of Captaine *William Ridgeway*, Sir *Francis Hamblton*,

Hambleton Knight and Baronet, Captaine *Michael Iones*, and Maſter *Fenton Parſons*, whom they have imployed and authorized as their Agents, to manifeſt the truth thereof in ſuch particulars as for the preſent they are furniſhed withall, referring the more ample manifeſtation to Cap. *Wil. Ridgeway*, *Fr. Hambleton*, *Michael Iones*, and *Fenton Parſons*, or any 3 or more of them, or any ſuch other agents as ſhall with all convenient ſpeed be ſent as occaſion ſhall require, to attend Your Majeſty, from Your Proteſtant Subjects of the ſeverall Provinces of this Your Kindome.

Wee therefore Your Majeſties moſt humble loyall and obedient *Proteſtant* Subjects, caſting downe our ſelves at Your Royall feete, and flying to You for redreſſe, and Sutors in theſe our great calamities, as our moſt gratious Soveraigne Lord and King; And next and immediate under Almighty God, our Protector and Defence: moſt humbly beſeeching Your Sacred Majeſty to admit into Your Royall Preſence, from time to time our ſayd Agents; And in Your great Wiſdome to take into Your great care and conſideration the diſtreſſed eſtates, and humble deſires of your ſaid ſubjects, ſo that the glory of God, Your Majeſties Honour, and the happineſſe of Your Subjects, the Proteſtant Religion may be reſtored throughout the whole Kingdome to its luſtre. That the loſſes of Your Proteſtant Subjects may be repaired in ſuch manner, and meaſure as Your Majeſty in Your Princely Wiſdome ſhall thinke fit. And that this Kingdom may be ſo ſetled, as that your ſaid Proteſtant Subjects may hereafter live therein under the happy government of Your Majeſty and Your Royall poſterity with comfort and ſecurity; whereby Your Majeſty will render Your ſelfe throughout the whole World, a moſt juſt and glorious defender of the Proteſtant Religion, and draw downe a bleſſing on all other Your Royall undertakings, for which Your *Petitioners* will ever pray, &c.

George Kildare.	*Ar. Forbiſh.*	*Edw. Peuey.*
Montgomery.	*Ro. Hannah.*	*Tho. Meredeth.*
Henry Blaney.	*Ro. Stuart.*	*Ar. Loftus.*
Mr. Ridgeway.	*William Cooley.*	*Wil. Uſher.*
Ja. Montgomery.	*Ar. Blundell.*	*Fra. Slingsby.*
Cha. Coote.	*Fra. Shurley.*	*Fra. Willoughby.*
Fra. Hamilton.	*Ja. Dumbettr.*	*Ion Morris.*

Geo.

Geo. Munke.
Rob. Sterling.
Hen. Iones.
Io. Pygot.
Rob. Baliffe.
Ed. Philpot.
Anth. Trime.
Wil. Parsons.
Ioh. Edgworth.
Wil. Bodoley.
Fran. Moore.
Io. Nueman.
Fra. Bowes.
Will. Plankot.
Jo. Turner.
Io. Cliffe.
Pet. Wyburne.
Theod. Scent.
Brya. Stapleton.
David Dunbar.
Tho. Hill.
Geo. Launder.
Ed. Montgomery.
Hen. Tilliard.
Io. Colvell.
Will. Iohnson.
Geo. Montgomery.
Io. Reevonin.
Art. Hambleton.
Will. Gibbs.
Bob. Whitfeeld.
Ioh. Campbell.
Ios. Wheeler.
Io. Wheeler.
Will. Alfrey.
Dudley Loftus.
Nich. Simson.
Reg. Alinson.
Will. Pigat.

Ant. Doping.
Ratcl. Duckenfeeld.
Will. Lucasse.
Tho. Leigh.
Dan. Foster.
Io. Sterling.
Ad. Merideth.
Rob. Sanderson.
Tho. Coote.
Geo. Bently.
Tho. Lallis.
Will. VVhite.
Ed. Pygot.
Ioh. Dernelle.
VVill. Knight.
VVill. Palmes.
Ed. Springe.
Ro. Percivall.
Io. Cranford.
Tho. Aglmen.
VVill. Aubrey.
Io. Iohnson.
Io. Doyley.
Ios. Allen.
Rob. Cole.
Ioh. Kenedey.
Nich. Pinner.
Cooley. Phillips.
Rob. Stuart.
Ioh. Hoy.
Tho. VVhite.
Paul. Canning.
Sam. Mullenett.
Io. Lyght.
And. Brewarton.
VVill. Hamilton.
Hen. Kenney.
Io. Billingham.
VVill Humphrey.

FINIS.

Hug. Gomey.
Io. Clark.
Io. Feeld.
Ed. Fisher.
Io. Shenning.
Iohnthor Holt.
Io. Combloody.
Tho. Lawton.
And. Crimble.
Nath. Higinson.
Io. VValker.
Ro. Holland.
VVal. Fraser.
Geor. Osbaston.
Tho. Manley.
Fra. Barbar.
VVill. Bodington.
And. Young.
Ed. Barton.
VVill. Richardson.
Io. Penrose.
Rob. Mason.
VVill. Medops.
Mat. Sloghson.
Iohn. Roe.
VVill. Steward.
Adam Iones.
VVill. Teddey.
Rob. Bowyer.
Arno. Cosby.
VVill. Sands.
Nat. Hollington.
Adam VVatson.
Io. VVoods.
Mat. Forester.
Arnold. Boate.
Io. Parsons.
VVill. Gilbert.
Rob. Iones.
Francis King.

13

Se Defendendo.

A Shield, and Shaft, against Detraction.

Opposed, and drawn, by Capt. George Wither, by Occasion of Scandalous Rumours, touching his deserting of *Farnham-Castle*, and some other malicious *Aspersions*.

Read; *for*, *this* Private Cause, *if*, *rightly*, *try'd*,
The publike Wrongs *hath*, *partly*, *typifi'd*:
And, *for* Himselfe, *if* You *will heare* Him, *now*,
Perhaps, *ere long*, Hee'l *say as much*, *for* You.

IT was my hope, that, ere this, I should have had occasions, and incouragements, to salute you with my VOX PACIFICA, mentioned in my CAMPO-MVSÆ; that *Preparation* might have beene made for that *Way of Peace*, which we, yet, know not. But, most men have such *By-wayes*, to walk in, such *private paths*, of their own; and make so many *Crosse passages*, that, the right Tract, to a blessed *Peace*, will not, yet, be found; nor, the newes of it, much regarded. *Selfe-love*, *Selfe-conceit*, *humane Policy*, *Carnall Dependencies*, *Private Interests*, *Partial Respects*, *Wilfulnesse*, *Covetousnesse*, *Ambition*, *Malice*, *hypocrisie*, *Infidelity*, *Impiety*, and *Unmercifulnesse*, (a strong Malignant Party) have made such lowd noises, and such mad confusions, among us; that, the *still-voice* of Pacification, tending to the *Peace* desired by all good men, cannot possibly be heard, or uttered, with any profitable successe. And, though the houre were at hand, which brought Evidences, of Qualifications, making us capable of *Good-Tidings*; and had filled me, also, with notions, urging their Publication: yet, having my Repute, lately, sullied, by scandalous Rumours, it would be comely, and convenient, I should purge my self of those mis-imputations, before I presented them to the *Publike*; because, few regard that which is brought them, by an unworthy, or suspected *Messenger*.

It is, now, above 30 years, since I first began to suffer for my good affection to the publike welfare: and I have been, hitherto, by Gods mercy, so happy therein, that neither Mischiefs, nor Detractions, have much harmed me, though I had so many powerfull, and malicious Adversaries, that, for

March 13. 1643

well-doing,

well-doing, if I escaped *undoing*, I ever thought my self highly favoured. This long experience (and a beliefe, that, *No mans evill, but his own, can much damnifie, or disparage him*) inabled my patience to passe over many losses, and indignities, as if unperceived: whereby the present Inconveniences became the lesse; and, my future advantages, the more. And, for that cause, I smothered many wrongs, which others, seldome, pretermit, with so little shew of discontent: And, I could have beene well pleased, that it might have stood with my *Reputation*, to have spared this *Defence*.

But, the honour of a *Commander*, is not, so meerly, his own, that the losse or preservation thereof concerns himself, onely; otherwhile the *Republike*, and the effectuall execution of his *Calling*, may be much advantaged, or disadvantaged, thereby. The disparagement of a *Captaine*, incourageth his enemies, disheartneth his own souldiers, and, many wayes, disableth his performance of due services: And, my particular repute, ought not, onely, to be precious to me, in those respects; but in regard, also, of such reproofs of evill, or incouragements to vertue, as already are, and may, hereafter, be published to the world: and which may be made lesse profitable to the Readers, when the credit, worth, or sincerity of their Author is much traduced.

Compelled, therefore, by that duty, which, in Justice, and Charity, I owe to my selfe, and my Countrey, I make tender (to whomsoever it shall concern, or may content) of a Vindication of my *Courage* and *Fidelity* in the publike Service, which hath beene disparaged by malicious aspersions, long whispered in secret, and now lately brought openly to my knowledge. I have, heretofore, heard ambiguous words, cast forth, and observed them, and scornfull Aspects, making me, justly, jealous, that some scandalous report was raised, and entertained of me; and thereof, also, have seen symptomes among some of my Honourable Friends, and by whose, undeserved, neglect of my necessities, and faithfull services, I might be assured, that ill tongues had influences upon me: yet, having no certainty thereof, I thought it more discretion to be silent, then to answer *Voices in the Clouds*; and so, be thought, perhaps, to labour a Defence for that, whereof no man had accused me.

I have, now, assurances of what I suspected. And, that you, to whom this *Vindication* shall come, may know, I thrust not my selfe impertinently hereupon; I will acquaint you with what is rumoured, and how I am (as it were) challenged hereunto; that, you may the better judge, how reasonably I am obliged to this *Defence*; and that they, upon whom I shall cast off the blame, which is imputed mine, may hold me excused, if I leave them to beare their own burthen. For, though I know it was by the unfaithfulnesse, negligence, or, at least, the ignorance, of some body, that the publike safety was violated,

violated, in the desertion of *Farnham-Castle*; and whereby, likewise, I have greatly suffered, both in Estate, and Reputation: yet, I will urge nothing in Splene, nor by way of Recrimination; so, as it anothers faultinesse could make me guiltlesse; nor take upon me to condemne any one; but, onely declare so much, as (I think) may sufficiently cleare me, of what is famed against me, and give some hints for the *publike Security*.

That which is reported, to my disparagement, touching *Farnham Castle*, was lately signified unto me, from a *Gentleman of Quality*, by a Letter, in these words.

WOrthy Captain, *I have read most of your Works, wherein you expresse much zeal to this Cause of Gods; and, I believe (though it be a dissembling Age) that your words and thoughts are the same. I pray pardon my boldnesse, if I acquaint you with a Report which flies abroad in the County of Surrey, and likewise in* London, *which is, that you, being Governour of* Farnham Castle, *should desert it, shamefully. It is expressed in grosser language, which I forbeare; for manner sake. As a friend, I could wish you to vindicate your Reputation. Thus with my respects remembred unto you, I rest,*

Your loving friend, J. M.

Since the receipt of this Letter, I have heard from others, that the same scandall hath been reported in *Hampshire*, *Surrey* and *London*, above a yeare past, and expressed with such jeers, and scorns, that it made them unwilling to inform me thereof, left I should be more afflicted, then advantaged thereby: For which tendernesse of their, I but a little thank them.

For, though I neither *vapour*, *roare*, *plunder*, or *imprecate my own damnation*, so valiantly, as many other *Captains*: yet, I am as sensible of my Reputation, as becomes a *Christian Souldier*; and shall finde, I hope, spirit enough to beare, without base dejection, whatsoever God shall permit me to be exercised withall, and to make it appeare also, that I failed, neither in *Courage*, *Discretion*, or *Fairhfulnesse*, in execution of the *Trust* reposed in me at *Farnham*, or in any other Command. Whereof, that you may the better judge, I offer to consideration, both my *Commission*, and my proceedings thereupon. This, following, is a true Copie of my *Commission*.

The Committee of the Lords and Commons, for the safety of the Kingdome, to Captaine George Wither.

BY *Virtue of an* Ordinance *of* Lords *and* Commons *in* Parliament, *authorizing us, we doe constitute and appoint you Captaine and Commander of* Farnham *Castle in the County of* Surrey, *and of such* Foot *as shall be put into your hands by Sir* Richard Onslow *Knight, and* Nicolas Stoughton *Esquire, for the defence of the* King, Parliament, *and* Kingdome. *Which said* Castle, *and* Foot, *you shall, by virtue of this* Commission, *receive into your Charge*

and Custody; commanding you also, hereby, to attend with, and bring unto the said Castle, *that* Troupe *of Horse which is already raised in the said County, whereof you are* Captaine, *or as many of them as the said Sir* Richard Onslow, *and* Nicolas Stoughton, *shall think convenient for the said Service, for the best safeguard of that place, as occasion shall be from time to time offered. These are therefore to will and require you, to make your present repaire to the said Castle, and take the same, together with the said* Foot *and* Horse, *into your Charge and Command, and diligently to command, governe, exercise, and order the said* Castle, *and* Forces, *with all faithfulnesse and care. And also to command, governe, rule and exercise all inferiour Officers and Souldiers, both Horse and Foot, committed, or to be committed to you, as aforesaid: commanding them, and every of them to obey you as their* Captaine *and* Commander *for the Service aforesaid: And you likewise to obey, and follow such Orders and Directions, as you shall from time to time receive, from us, His* Excellency *the Earle of* Essex, *or the said Sir* Richard Onslow, *and* Nicolas Stoughton, *according to the Discipline of Warre. Given this* 14. *of October.* 1642.

Northumberland. Holland. Bullingbrooke.
Gray & Warke. Ed. Howard. Gilbert Gerard.
Antho. Nicoll. Jo. Pym.

According to this *Commission*, I repaired, immediately, to the said Castle (which, for many years before, had no inhabitants, but Dawes and Crowes.) And, if I had been vouchsafed the respects due to a Souldier, having (as shall hereafter appeare) discharged the trust reposed in me, and no way merited lesse regard, I should have obtained, againe, the same command, or somwhat equall thereto, rather then have been sent out of the *County*, as I was, disrespectively, and disgracefully, in the taile of a Regiment; which I would have disdained, had not the present necessities of the publike, been more prevalent with me, then my private content. As soone as I came to the Castle, I diligently viewed the place, observing of what consequence it was; and tooke into serious consideration, such particulars, as I judged pertinent, to the well-governing, and safe-keeping thereof. The verie first day (for delay hath been our greatest mischiefe) perceiving the water might be soone cut off, I prepared for sinking a *Well*, without which a *Garison* could not have there subsisted. Within three daies, I fitted up Stabling for my Horses, of which there was none within the Walls, and without which, the Malignancie of the Townes-men (being, for the most part, Tenants, or Creatures of the Bishops) might have betraied my *Cavalrie*, when I should have most needed them: And, in short time, I would have cleared the Ditches, and all the grounds, round about the *Castle*, of whatsoever might have made the place lesse defen-

ſible, or ſheltred an enemies approaches. I had contrived a *Draw-Bridge*, a *Sally-Port*, *Plat-formes*, *Paliſadoes*, *Counterſcarfes*, with all other reaſonable Proviſions, in my judgement, neceſſarie for ſecuring my charge; and forthwith, (as I can make proofe) requeſted of thoſe, by whom I was to be ordered, an *Engineer*, *Ordnance*, and what elſe was pertinent to the worke.

But, I was faine to be active in imagination, only, which is more properly exerciſed about fortifying of *Caſtles in the aire*, then upon the *Land*. There is a thrift lately practiſed, much like the ſaving of a half-penny worth of *Tarre* by the loſſe of a *Hogge*, jeered in an Engliſh Proverb; and this way of *ſaving*, hath, in my obſervation, more then trebled the expences of this *Warre*: For, when *Propoſitions* are made tending to the prevention, both of future expences, and apparent dangers; it frequently happens, that, till the perill is begun, or the remedy too late, ſome ſeeming good husbands, for the Publique, (and otherwhile Malignants, under that pretence) delay their execution, to avoid coſt; and ſo undoe us, to ſave charges. This epidemicall folly fruſtrated my intentions at *Farnham*, and hath occaſioned the loſſe, or waſt, of above 100000 pounds; beſide the ſhedding of blood, and other miſchiefes, hazzards and inconveniences, moſt of which might probably have been prevented, by the timely diſburſement of ſmall ſummes.

For, I had neither *Men*, *Money*, *Ordnance*, *Spades*, *Pick-Axes*, *Armes*, nor any other Ammunition; ſave only, about two ſquadrons of a Troope halfe armed; a few irreſolute Voluntiers, of my owne procuring, by intreatie; ſixtie Muſquets, and ſome Powder, Match, and Bullets: Nor had I meanes, or authority, to make ſuch Proviſions, as I knew needfull: which appeares by the foterecited *Commiſſion*, limiting my Government, and Command, to be altogether ordered by the diſcretion of others, and ſubjecting me to waite abſolutely upon their pleaſure, for Forces, or Supplies, and to be regulated, from time to time, according to their Orders, whatſoever neglect or extremity ſhould happen; which was, in effect, an impriſoning of mee in the Caſtle.

Nevertheleſſe, I knew my ſelf inexcuſable, if I did not my utmoſt indeavour to ſecure the place. Therefore, ſeeing two or three daies paſſed, and neither men or Proviſions comming or preparing for mee, (and perceiving alſo, that I had almoſt wearied out my Officers, Troopers, and thoſe few well-affected Townesmen, whom I had procured to help guard the Walls) I put thoſe in remembrance of my neceſſities, whom it concerned, to provide for me, as will appeare by thoſe Letters, yet in my cuſtodie, which they returned, in anſwer of my demands, with promiſes of timely accommodation. I diſpatched Meſſengers alſo among my kindred, and acquaintance, in *Hamp-*

ſhire, to mediate for ſome compliance from thoſe parts, in regard, aſwell of their neighbourhood, as, of the comfort and ſecurity which that Caſtle might have been to the *well-affected* therein; and my motion ſucceeded ſo well, that I was immediately viſited by the Captaines, or the Lievtenants, of the foure *Traine-Bands* neareſt thereunto; and by them, was chearfully promiſed, that aſſoon as they ſaw me furniſhed with *Ordnance*, and other things likely to enable me to be a ſaveguard unto them, I ſhould, in all extremities, have their beſt aid, upon ſhort warning.

I then doubled my Meſſages, and made a perſonall viſite, to intreate for what was neceſſary to enable the diſcharge of my duty: yet till the time of my removall, I never obtained toward the paiment of Souldiers, buying Swords, ſinking the Well, and for other neceſſarie works and diſburſements, any more then 50. *l.* and ſo many men only, as together with my *Three-quarter-Troop*, (as then it was) would almoſt have made a Guard for one night, provided I kept no reſerves for relief, for Scouts, or other neceſſary ſervices: And, then, the ſmall number of *Auxiliaries*, which I had, being drawne thither, meerly upon intreatie, and finding nothing there prepared for their ſuſtenance, or defence, departed alwaies within a day, or two, and left me to get other where I could. Inſomuch, that, everie night, I was faine to do the ſervice of inferiour Officers, in teaching new commers to manage their Armes, and how to behave themſelves upon the watch; who, uſually, alſo, before they were perfect, gave me leave to inſtruct others, and went away, publiſhing the ridiculous feebleneſſe of the Garriſon, to our further weakning, and my ſecret vexation. For I durſt not ſeeme, openly, to underſtand our contemptible condition, leaſt I ſhould have quite diſcouraged all about me, and have given occaſion to the *Malignants* of that place, (who were foure fold more then the *Well-affected*) to worke our diſadvantage thereby.

But, doe what I could, they knew ſo much of our wants; ſaw me ſo neglected, and their inſolent behaviours to be ſo connived at, that, as I have ſince heard, they became impudent in their deriſions: had many ſecret meetings and conſultations, concerning the bringing of the Rebels in upon us; acquainting them daily, (they being but 15. miles diſtant) with whatever they knew to our diſadvantage. And, how I could have been any way reaſonably active, for prevention of their malice, I underſtood not, unleſſe I might have had better accommodations within the Caſtle, to ſecure it, whileſt I marched out with my Troope.

Doubtleſſe, if any thing, more then the meere providence, and mercie of God, kept the Enemie from attempting the Caſtle, whileſt I was therein, it was only this, that their opinion, I had more wit, then to undertake a

place

place so miserably accommodated, made them incredulous of what they were informed; how else could I have remained unassaulted? how could I have possibly kept the Souldiers close to their duty within those Walls, which afforded neither meanes of safety, nor lodging, nor Victualls for their entertainment? how toilesome was it for mee, they being necessitated to goe forth, to recollect and keep them together, when their service was needfull? how unsafe was it, to have them, day and night, mingled and conversing among their secret adversaries, (more then doubling their number) especially, suspecting probably, as I did, that most of the neighbouring Villages (aswell as the Towne) were at best, *Newters*, if not ill-willers, to our Cause? For, I seriously protest, (take it as they will) I, then knew neither one Captaine, nor above two Officers of the Trained Bands, or above sixe *Gentlemen*, (to my now remembrance) in all the foure hundreds of *Surrey* next *Farnham*, of whom I did not rather expect mischief, then willing aid, in that service. And how rightly I guessed, partly appeared, by what followed, upon my removall; and may, perhaps, more fully appear hereafter, if Gods mercy, and good heed, prevent not. But,

All my *Conjectures* are as vainely told,
As were *Cassandra's Propheſies of old*,

These inconveniences, made me carefull and watchfull, but not hopelesse; therefore, I still projected how to remedy, as many of them as I could, by supplying, some of our most extream necessities, and concealing the rest, whilest they might be hidden, and so kept my Souldiers in expectation of supplies, before it was too late. I my self continued not the mean time in an idle attendance, for what I wanted. But, having at my leasure considered fully, what advantages might happen to those parts, to the Garrison at *Portsmouth*, to the Citie of *London*, and to the whole *Republique*, by the obstruction of that passage: weighing also what security, and addition of power I might bee hopefull of, by being timely enabled to make that *Castle* a safe *Retreating-place*, and by having a competent number of Dragoones annexed unto my Troop, to fetch in provisions, suppresse our enemies, and incourage our friends, in those quarters, of *Surrey*, *Sussex*, and *Hamp-shire*, I signified to an honourable person, whom I thought it might concerne, the considerablenes of the Place, the speedy necessity of securing the same, and what else I conceived helpfull to the like end, which it seems were then supposed, but the needlesse impertinencies of a Captaine, more officious then was cause.

For, instead of that full, and speedy Accommodation expected, contrary to my hope (almost to my amazement) and to my great sorrow, for those mischiefs and inconveniences, which I foresaw would shortly follow, I was

called

called from the said Castle soon after, and by Order commanded to march immediately with my Troupe to *London*, and to leave the *Castle* in custody with one of my *Officers*. The said *Order*, (which I keep for my discharge) I actually obeyed; but, I confesse, with much unwillingnesse, and with some indignation: because, the verie same day, in which my Troupe left the Castle, there was an appearance, neer *Guilford*, of about a thousand men, whereof one third, with some of those Armes and Horse (of which the Rebels, a while after, plundered the West division of *Surrey*) being sent into *Farnham*, while I was there, might, in probabilitie, have prevented, not onely, the untimely death of that honourable Patriot, Colonell *Fane*, and other disasters; but, perhaps, also, inabled me, ere this, to have performed some eminent services, as well as other.

Or, had I been vouchsafed a *Commission*, whereby I might, at least, in extremities, have been some way active, according to my discretion, I doubt not, but, by Gods assistance, I had found meanes to keepe my selfe, both in possession of the Castle, and of my lost estate, to this day; and, with far lesse charge, and grievance, to the Countrey, then hath since happened. For, knowing, (or how I might have known) in what degree of good, or ill affection to the Parliament, the Generalitie, and most considerable men, in particular, stood in those parts, of *Surrey*, and *Hampshire*, I could have then contrived means, so to have levied, both men, and ammunition, for the present necessitie, in such manner, as no man should, afterward, have justly complained: and, by warily proportioning *Power*, *Perswasion*, *Force* and *Gentlenesse*, speedily have gathered that strength, which might have attracted more and more, till I had been able to command a sufficient Guard.

But, this Honour, and Truft, is too often conferred for private fancies and respects; els I was every way as considerable, by giving publike Testimonies, of being to be confided in, as many other of larger Fortunes; and as likely to have understood, how discreetly to have proceeded, as most other of those unexperienc'd Souldiers, who have been lately imployed. But, soft, *By the mighty King*

The little City, *is not streightned, yet,*
Enough, to shew, it needs, the poore-mans *Wit*.

Having, according to Order, as is aforesaid, brought my *Troupe* to *London* (where I attended further Commands) I thought my selfe not wholly discharged from the *Castle*; neither did my care of the publike safety, permit me to be negligent of the same. I repaired, therefore, to the *Committee*, from whom I had my *Commission*, and acquainted them with the defects of the Garison there, and with such consequences, also, as, I thought, would follow the neglect thereof, by reason of the nearnesse of Prince *Ruperts* Forces; which

which they taking into serious consideration, (and as it seemed, not before knowing how I was neglected) resolved to send me speedily back to *Farnham*, with provisions for the securing of the said Castle; and to that end gave me a Warrant for *Artillery* out of the *Tower*, which I got ready the same day.

But, hearing at the Tower that the Traitors, calling themselves the Kings Forces, had entred *Surrey*; I returned to the said *Committee* for a more sufficient *Convoy*, purposing to gather up Victualls, and such other needfull stores as the Countrey afforded, in my march thitherward; Having then in my owne House, (about four miles short of the Castle) above 1000. weight of Cheese, nigh 800. weight of Butter, many quarters of Wheat and Mault, five or seven Hogs-heads of Beere and Cider, Bacon, Beef, and other necessaries. Also in my Grounds, nigh 300. fat Sheep, above 60. fat Beasts, and almost as many fat Hogges, which I resolved to take along with me by the way. All which, with much good houshold stuff, Teems, Cattell, Corne, Hay, and other things, I was soon after robbed of by the Enemie, to my damage, losses and reall hinderances, (though Malignants impudently have averred otherwise) above two thousand pounds.

When I came back to the said *Committee*, to the purpose aforesaid, they told me they were resolving to countermand my Warrant for *Ordnance*, &c. In regard they heard, the Forces aforesaid were entred *Surrey*. Whereat, being much grieved, I requested that the *Demiculverins* might be exchanged for *Drakes*, which (though lesse serviceable in the Castle) I could better manage upon the way; and offred (with confidence I should safely have done it) to adventure my life with them to *Farnham*. And, I thinke my proffer had been accepted, if other newes of the enemies nearer approaches had not been brought in at that instant: But, thereupon my motion was peremptorily rejected.

I then besought them, that I might march away with my Troope onely, to take my hazzard among my neighbours, by whom I was armed for the protection of their habitations: And considering I knew the *By-passages* of the Countrey; had the Castle at that time in the possession of my Officers, for a retreating place; about 30. of my Neighbours also there, expecting my coming; the provisions aforementioned in my House, so neare the Castle, and hopes that some honest men, would suddenly have joined themselves to me, for their owne and the Countries preservation; I thought the adventure not so desperate as it seemed, perhaps to others. And, doubtlesse my presence would have prevailed with some *Newtrals*, to have procured me, at least, private aid; and kept many Malignants from being openly active to the encouragement of others against the Parliament.

Whatever the event would have bin, I verily believed, God would by these or other meanes, have wrought some deliverance by my hand. Yea, I have yet the same confidence. For, I should almost have scorned to have desired the aid of above two squadrons of my Troop, to have scattered that despicable Rout, wherewith Sheriffe *Denham*, Captain *Hudson*, Master *Tichborne*, Brewer *Brodnexe*, and other such like Leaders of the same Councie, first robbed my House, and afterward seized the said Castle, and victualled the same with my stores, as I purposed to have done.

But, seeing it was not conceived by my Superiors, convenient to permit me to march to *Farnham*, as I desired: I then humbly offered to consideration, what should be determined concerning the foresaid Castle, the small *Magazine* there left, and my Officers, who had still the custody of those Walls: Whereupon, it was resolved (it being impossible, in that streight to provide better) that they should immediately quit the place, and bring away their Ammunition, if they could. To which purpose, an Order was forthwith sent away, and, I, thereby fully discharged of my Trust.

Nevertheless, so farre was I from shamefully deserting the Castle, as it is maliciously rumored, that, the thought and care of it would not out of my heart, though I was, untimely, outed from thence; but, I had many sad musings concerning the said place, and those whom I left there ingaged; which musings were not without some good effect. For, having considered their danger, aswell in respect of the Malignant *Townesmen*, as of the approaching *Armie*; and, that if those my *Souldiers*, or the *Parliament Ammunition*, should have, there, miscarried, (though without my fault) it might have redounded to my disparagement; I resolved to fetch them off in person, whom I had personally brought on. And, therefore, the evening of the same day, in which the forementioned *Order*, was sent to call them from the Castle, I took my Horse, all alone, (having no other Horse swift enough to bear me companie) and posted, to *Farnham*, to see a due execution of the said *Order*.

By the way, (it being late in the night) I called at my owne House, whither newes came, about half an houre before, that some of the Enemies forces, being at *Hartly-Rowe*, about four miles from *Farnham*, were expected to visite the Castle that night, or early the next morning; and that *Farnham* men would neither permit my Souldiers, to have meat for their Suppers, or Teams to carry away their *Ammunition*. Whereupon, I commanded my Servants to follow me with two of my own Waggons, and to drive through the little Parke on the backside of the Castle, to avoid surprisal by the Townsmen; which, being speedily performed, we, by that meanes, orderly, and not shamefully, quitted the Castle, marching with our Ammunition Souldiers

dier-like through the Towne, in a posture ready to receive an enemie; to the vexation of the *Malignants*, who, as I heard, snarl'd and barked at us, when we were out of sight. This service prevented the losse of our Ammunition, and a greater losse, in disappointing the Enemie thereof. And, this service I performed, uncommanded, unheeded, and without recompence for my Teems, which carried the Magazine to *Kingstone*, whilest they might have been imployed in saving my own goods, whereof I preserved but one Load. Soon after the remainder of my estate was plundred, by the Malignants of the same Countie, who were nevertheless, afterward, more favoured then I, by some, who pretend fairlie for the *Parliament*.

This being the truth, what could I have done more to witnesse my courage, willingnesse, diligence and faithfullnesse, to be without blame? and how great is their impudence who can report I either kept or left the Castle otherwise then became a Souldier? The Countrey thereabout generallie knowes, I had neither Ordnance, nor Horse, nor Foote, nor Works, nor Walls, nor Victualls enough to have held the Castle against an Enemie two daies, or to have withstood a sharp assault half an houre: I saw no preparation made for me by others, or anie Authoritie granted me to provide for my self: Yea, I saw my proffered Councell and Service neglected, and my self likely to be disgraced, (as hath since hapned:) And, yet, so farre was I from an untimely or undue desertion, of the Castle; or from being any way negligent of the publique advantage, that (when I was absolutelie discharged from the same, and Order sent away to dissolve the Garrison) I personallie, and unrequired, went, all alone, as is aforesaid, in the night, above 30. miles, to fetch off my Officers and Souldiers; even that night, in which I heard the Enemie was, there, expected; and, brought also meanes with me, to my own losse, for the safeguard of that Ammunition, which had been else lost unto the Publique.

Thus have you the true Storie of my short Government in *Farnham* Castle, with the right cause, and manner of my relinquishing the same; which, I hope, will sufficientlie acquit me from a base or unworthie desertion thereof. In this Relation, I had occasions to have amplified some things, to my credit in other particulars: But, I forbear it, least I may thereby more disadvantage others, then benefit my selfe, whose desire is, that, everie mans oversights, who errs not willfullie, should bee charitablie covered; though my best words and actions are not so favourablie construed, but often wrested to my disprofit, or disgrace.

I had here ended; But being now upon my Guard, and perceiving other malitious Arrowes, whizzing about mine eares, from the Bow of *Detraction*, I will neither lay downe my Buckler, nor unbend my Bowe, till I have

gathered up one of those poisoned shafts, and shot it out of the way, least my friends may stumble at it.

There flies a rumour, that by an *Order* obtained from the *Honourable House of Commons*, I have recovered more then double my losses, out of the Estates of Malignants, plundred by me in *Kent*, *Surrey*, and elswhere; and that my *Troopers* also, have much inriched themselves by plunder, under my command: Yea, this faise report hath reached the eares of some Parliament Men, my Noble *Friends*, to my disadvantage: For, words to this purpose were objected unto me immediatly before our expedition to *Glamorgan*, by Master *Pym*, in his *Excellencies* Quarters at *Uxbridge*, who, perhaps took notice thereof: For, it was openly spoken in his presence, by reason of a motion, which I then made unto him, touching 1300. *l.* then, and yet due to me by Warrant, and many hundred pounds more, of which I despaire not. I believe that Honourable Patriot, lived and died assured of my innocency, by that satisfaction which I gave him; and, because others also may be satisfied thereof, I will here briefly deliver, for my justification, that which shall be sufficient to prevaile for me with reasonable men; and, that, which no malice shall be able to disprove.

I confesse, with all humble thankfullnesse, that the Honourable House of *Commons* vouchsafed me an *Order* to repair my losses, out of the goods and Estates of my *Plunderers*, or of such as were in Armes against the *Parliament*; which, had I employed for my private reparation, without other due respects, I might ere this time have recruited my Estate: But, I taking it as a great and extraordinarie favour to be intrusted with so free and full an *Order*, thought my self the more bound, to proceed moderately and honestlie in the execution thereof; and therefore, did not politiquely and greedily seek to gather up my losses thereby, as they would have done who are distrustfull of the *Publique-Faith*, or of the justnesse or prosperous successe of our Cause. It was not, by reason I was ignorant what Souldiers did, for their private advantage, nor was it for that I knew not what insolencies are connived at in times of Hostilitie; nor because I understood not, what use I might have made of my *Troop* by that *Order*, to my private profit: But, I so proceeded, because I had more care of the Publike, then of my private Estate; because, I desired not, in so mischievous a time, to be troubled with more then I had need of; and, because I believed, as I yet believe, (though some have endevoured to make it void) that in the conclusion, or when I shall have more need of it, the *Parliament* will make good unto me, what was intended by that Order.

Yet, by my faire and moderate proceedings, (other men seeming not so true to the *Principles* they made shew of, as I was to mine) I have been ex-

ercised with manie wants, neglects and injuries, unexpected, which I might have prevented, by mixing a little more of the *wisdome* of this *Generation*, with my *simplicity*. For, my *Plunderers* were either so beggarlie, or had so ingaged, or conveyed their Estates; and, my attendance on the Publique Service, so imployed me therein; that, whatsoever is murmured, all that I have reaped, by the foresaid *Order*, toward the reparation of my losses, (as may appeare by the particulars, and Affidavit made) amounts not unto so much as the bare interest of my dammages; reasonable charges deducted. So, I have yet, nothing toward the principall, and that, also, which I seised, was in my extream necessitie, to preserve my Family from want; or, to relieve them, who had no livelyhood, but what they had put into my hands.

That, likewise, which I took, I seised not with rigour, or without compassion, though it were from my Enemies; and, it wanted so much of being many thousand pounds worth, that it hath not amounted to hundreds; as will appear upon examination of these particulars. In *Kent* I seised, by the said *Order*, in one place, to the value of about 60. *l.* In *Middlesex* a parcell of goods of the same value. In *Surrey*, two parcells of goods and money, arising to about 50. pound. Beside, some part of the Goods and Estates of Captain *Andrewes*; and Master *John Denham*, and Master *Tichborne*, two of my Plunderers of which, I have yet received no profit at all.

For, the said estates in Lands (late *Denhams* and *Tichbornes*) being in Mortgage, and that of Captain *Andrewes*, being now without Tenants, and formerlie made unprofitable by the wranglings and povertie of such as occupied the Lands; and, great paiments issuing likewise out of it, for the publike use; I have disbursed more to make profit of these last, then I yet received, and perhaps, that which I have expended, may be all quite lost, by reason it lieth so neer the Enemies Quarters: And, the *Goods* which were Master *Denhams*, are by an Order of some *Sequestrators*, taken out of my hands, and put into the possession of his *wife*, who, (as do many other Delinquents) findes much more favour, then I, (who have been ever faithfull to the *State*.

For, when my wife, and children, had been cruelly driven out of their habitation, and robbed of all they had, by her husband, and his confederates, enemies to the *Parliament*: And, when, by vertue of the fore-mentioned *Order*, I justly entred upon the house of the said *Denham*, purposing to harbour my said wife and children therein; *Mistris Denham*, having long before deserted the house, and left there, onely some tables, with such like houshold-stuffe: (though her husband fought, and yet, seekes the destruction of the *Kingdome*) was, upon false suggestions, put againe,

by *Order*, into poſſeſſion of that houſe: becauſe, as her charitable Patron alledged, ſhee was, forſooth, a *Gentlewoman*, big with childe, and had a *Fancie* to the place. By which means, I, who had loſt all my eſtate, and adventured my life, for the *publike*, was ſleighted, in favour of an *enemy* thereof; yea, in favour of the ſame *enemy*, that plundered me; and my *adverſaries* wife preferred, not for her *neceſſity*, but to pleaſe her *Fancie*; whileſt my wife, being (though not ſo gracious among Lords) as good a *Gentlewoman* as ſhe, being, then, great with child, alſo, and nearer her time, (and having for the preſent, neither harbour, nor other neceſſarie ſuccours for her ſelfe and her children) was compelled to get a *habitation*, not where ſhe *fancied*, but, where ſhe *could*.

Such was the juſtice, ſuch was the mercy, which I found, amongſt ſome *Committees*, pretending for the *Parliament*; on whom (becauſe, I know, their practice, is diſhonourable, to the *Parliament*, and not agreeable to the noble, juſt, and charitable intentions of that high *Court*) I will diſtinguiſh them, from the true *Patriots*, by this brief Character. *They are perſons, eaſily inclined to propound, and apt to entertaine, without ſcruple, what may diſadvantage the* publike; *and very punctuall in examining, and exceeding cautious, in aſſenting, to* Propoſitions, *commodious thereunto. Their chiefeſt activeneſſe, in all* Committees, *is, as much as they can, in favour of* Delinquents; *and, as much as they dare, in miſchieving, or diſcountenancing, the* well-affected. Malignants *and* Royalliſts *uſually ſpeake very reſpectively of them; and, in their Families, both men and women, frequently ſpeake maliciouſly of the trueſt* Patriots, *and of the* Parliament. *And laſtly, ſome carriages of theirs, have rendred them, ſo generally, ſuſpected, that, whereſoever all theſe marks are found together (without ſome great evidence of a change) I will expect a miſchiefe, rather then a favour, or a good turn; and ſo may the Commonwealth.* By theſe, the *Parliament* is moſt perplexed; by theſe, our deſired *Vnion*, and *Peace*, is delayed; and, by theſe, I have ſuffered more wrongs, and affronts, then I will here complain of. For,

He is unwiſe, who (wrong'd) complains on all:
And, hee's a Foole, who, nothing, anſwer ſhall.

By theſe means, I am yet ſo far ſhort, of taking larger recompence then is due to me, by the foreſaid *Order*, or by any other courſe; that, I have not yet received any part of my principall loſſe; nor wherewithall to maintaine my Familie, much longer, if the *Parliament* (whereof I nothing doubt) be not more merciſull to me, then ſome particular men.

For a further vindication of my *ſelfe*, and of my *Trouperſ* (from that calumnie, wherewith we are unjuſtly charged) Be it known to all, unto whom this *Apologie* ſhall come; that, if any man can charge me for ſeizing ought,

by

by the foreſaid *Order*, which I have not here confeſſed; or, if it be juſtly averred, that, in any place where I quartered, I have taken Horſe, or Armes, without Authority; or, diſpoſed of what I ſeized, for my private commoditie; or, that I have taken, directly, or indirectly, to the value of a pennie, to favour any perſon; or injured any one, to the ſame value, ſince I was firſt armed for the publike; or, that I received (ſave by the hands of the *Treaſurers*, or *Collectors*, of the *Counties* where I was imployed, by *Order*, to make ſeizures) either Horſe, Arms, Plate, or Money (except ſome Horſe, and a few Arms, for compleating my Troupe, according to my *Commiſſion*: and ſuch horſe, as I can make appeare, by diſcharge, to be delivered to recruit other *Troupes*) or, if any can, in like manner, affirm, that, with my privitie, then, or afterward, any *Officer*, or *Trouper*, of mine, compelled Free-quarter; or tooke ought violently, or fraudulently, from any man, for which I cauſed not a double value to be returned: or, if any man can ſay, I exacted free-Quarter for my ſelfe, ſo much as one night; or took it by way of courteſie, above three times; I do, hereby, promiſe, and oblige my ſelfe, to reſtore, in recompence thereof, tenfold, upon demand; not doubting, but challenge of ſatisfaction would ſoon be made, if any wrong hath beene ſo done, I having made this publike offer, and being ſo well known, as I am. And, I do the rather make this publication, becauſe, I heare, ſome others have plundered, in the name of my *Troupe*.

I could, yet, further, juſtifie my ſelfe, from other ſcandalls, and objections, and, thereby, put many to a harder task, in making their vindications, then I have had with this. But, my credit, with *good men*, is not ſo little, as that I need apologize againſt every malicious ſcandall: And, as for the reſt, it is my honour, and ſhall be my advantage, that they hate, ſleight and traduce me. For my concluſion, therefore, I will only let flie this *Shaft*; and will draw it to the head, light where it will.

Whoſoever hath reported, that I have either committed, or omitted, any thing, through negligence, faithleſneſſe, or want of courage; or, that I have otherwiſe behaved my ſelfe, then became a Souldier, *in the ordering, keeping or quitting of* Farnham *Caſtle, or in any publike ſervice or duty, ſince I tooke armes in defence of the* King, Parliament, *and* Kingdome; *and ſhall not call me to an account for it, either before a* Councell of Warre, *or where elſe it may beſeem me to take notice thereof, and make anſwer for my ſelfe; That man (unleſſe he ſhall heartily repent the ſcandall) is, thereby, injurious, as well to the publike, as to me: and (as moſt of my* Detracters, *and* Oppreſſors, *have hitherto proved) is a* FOOLE, *a* COWARD, *or, a* VILLAIN, *or* ALL.

When I have *ſpoke*, DESPIGHTS to *ſports*, are turn'd:
When I am *ſilent*, my *proud Foes*, are ſcorn'd.

Farewell.

LAY-PREACHING VNMASKED.

OR,

A DISCOVRSE TENDING to shew the unlawfulnesse of Laymens preaching in Publique or Private.

being

A REFVTATION OF some Arguments brought for the Justification of the lawfulnesse and uniuersall exercise of every mans gift publique and private:

By a well-willer to Reformation.

ROM. 16. 17.

Marke them which cause division.

March: 14 London Printed for W. L. 1643. 1644.

14

TO THE READER.

THe holy Ghost in sacred Scriptures doth often inculcate by many iterations, and perswasive expressions to the diligent, and serious study after Truth; and amongst them all, there is one (as I may so speake) transcends the rest. In the third Epistle, *Iohn 4. I have no greater joy then this to heare that my sonnes walke in verity*: a strong inducement to incite all men to such a proficiency: for as *Solomon* speaks, *Without knowledge the minde is not good*, because it deprives a man of the instrumentall means, to the attaining of which, his chiefest happinesse consists: so unlesse his knowledge be originally radicated in the principles of Truth, it can never *minister to a man* (as the Prophet speakes) *a word in due time*, for comfort and satisfaction: which point if seriously studyed, would prove a meanes to extirpate those Heresies, and Schismes which do miserably devide the seamlesse Coate of Christ: It is true, the Apostle saies, *There must be Heresies, &c.* but I may to this speech of the Apostle, adde that of Christ, *Woe be unto them to whom such offences come*, Mistake me not Reader, I doe not heare condemne the holy oppositions

3. Epist. Joh. 4.

Esay 50. 4.

oppoſitions that accompany the ſincere Miniſters of Jeſus Chriſt, againſt the corruptions of the times: no, no, farre be it from me to be ſuch a Proctor for the deviſl, or to maintaine his quarrell, I onely ſpeake againſt that blinde zeale, which poſſeſſes abundance in the world, that zeale that wants both knowledge and truth, for direction, and runns either upon conjectures, or evill *Enthuſiaſmes*, of which the Apoſtle aimes at, that hath its Originall and breeding from a diſtempered braine, and at length produces many exorbitant and giddy deviations from the ſobriety and analogy of true Religion, as a Learned Divine ſpeakes, this is that zeale which requires juſt cenſure and ſound conviction: What ſhall I ſay? I onely wiſh that the God of heaven, who hath all power in his hands, and knowes the hearts of all men would bridle the outragiouſneſſe of his enemies and cure the errors of his owne people, that we might all with one heart and one ſoule, willingly ſubmit to the Scepter of his deare Sonne, endeavouring to keepe the *unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace, &c.*

M. Bolton.

MVSEVM BRITANNICVM

LAY-PREACHING VNMASKED

Argvment

That there is no private gifts, nor private Christians that we reade of in Scripture.

Answver

THat this is otherwiſe, may eaſily apeare: for ſome actions are private, and ſome are alſo publique: and againe ſome perſons are private, and ſome are publique: and ſo it followeth, that ſome actions proceeding from men as private, their actions are private alſo: private actions have reference to private men and men are private in reſpect of there conditions, and callings God hath ſet them in; and private men may ſometimes performe publique actions, being by athority called there unto: and this may not only hold in the Civill Stat, but in the Eccleſiaſtique: for Jeſus Chriſt hath left Offices, and Officers in his Church, and thoſe deſinged to perticular places: This appeares manifeſtly, as may bee ſeene in Scripture: To ſet downe one inſtance in *Acts 6. verſe 1, 2. The Grecians complaining that their Widdowes were neglected*, the Ap-

ostles to remedy it, *called their multitude together, and wished them to looke out so many men, full of the holy Ghost, to be appointed for this businesse:* Now ther is no man will deny, but that this act was divine: if so, and that none could performe these actions but those who were publiquely ordained to that purpose, then it follows.

That these men (who were full of the holy Ghost) by a divine ordinance were appointed to doe such Offices in the Church, not only as they were Christians, and so had a spirituall sufficiency to performe those duties, but being private men were now publikely ordained to execut that which they were called to.

But it is worth while to consider what you understand by private Christians, and private spirits, for if you meane that every Christians gifts, are not for private use, but publike, and in that respect to doe service to the whole, and so generally to be assistant according to those gifts given him, then your speech is true, and so there is no Christan whatsoever that is a true member of Jesus Christ, but hath a duty lying upon them to help to edifie the body in his place: but if by private Christians, and private gifts, you understand that there are none such, because that every one that hath gifts from the head may doe and performe any Office in the Church, which is onely properly and peculiarly atribute to some, and so not to be differenced, out of any particular Office, from him that is specially called to a certaine Office, then your speech is untrue and tends the highway to Anabaptisme, besides your selfe tells us, that in respect of Congregated bodies, the more part are out of office: now if the more part in this respect be out of office, then they that are out of office cannot performe the duties of them that are in office: for what doth the word Office import, but onely a calling to, and a performing of certaine duties that pertain either to the civill State, or the Church, and none can perform these duties, but only those that are designed thereunto, and if there be these differences in those that are in office, and those that are out of office, I would knowe of you upon what grond you can affirme that there are no private gifts, nor private Christians, if in the first sense you acknoledge it, it is granted

ad to you, if in the second sence which you must assent to, or else you do but dally; then shew us better proofes then these, or else cease to be so universall in your conclusions, untill the premisses be better: for every member that is out of office may be sayd to have private gifts and private spirits, because they are not to execute, and performe those actions in a publike way which others may but in private, as *Ursinus* writes.

Furthermore in things pertaining to the Church, and as every member stands in relation one to another, and are members of that head from whom they receive life, so there is distinctions of these members in their severall operations. The Apostle in 1 *Cor.* 12. 4. sayes, *That there are diversities of gifts flowing from one and the same spirit*, and although he doth diffuse severall gifts to those members for a mutuall benefit, and *to profit withall, vers.* 7. yet these gifts that are thus given, and the persons to whom they are given, are to be differenced in their proper operations, for the gifts make the members, and not the members the gifts, and to this purpose the Apostle speakes very pertinently, *are all Apostles, are all Prophets, have all the gift of tongues, doe all propheſie, &c.*

Hence then it followes, that as some gifts consist in the performance of some things, and some of other things; so also those persons in whom those gifts are, are to be differenced likewise, and this the Apostle doth clearely intimate in 1 *Cor.* 12. for speaking of the gifts of the Spirit, *and their diversities of operations, vers* 6. he proceeds by way of comparison, that as in naturall bodies, one member cannot performe the office of another, and the distinctions of their operations in the body, so also Christ Jesus being the head of the spirituall body, hee hath communicated severall gifts to severall members, and hath designed certaine peculiar offices to some of those members; now not onely the severall gifts, but also the severall functions in the body Ecclesiastick proceed from Jesus Christ, and therefore the Apostle sayes, *vers.* 28. *And God hath set some in the Church, first, Apostles, secondly, Prophets, thirdly, Teachers, &c.* and although in the generall the gifts may concurre in one man, yet there are some particulars affirmed of one, which cannot be spoken of another, and therefore the Apostle againe,

verſ. 29. *Are all Apoſtles, are all Prophets, are all Teachers, &c.* but you ſay, theſe (*a*) offices were extraordinary, true, but yet by them and after them, the ordinary offices have the ſame diſtinctions, as thus. Paſtors, Elders, and Deacons, are not theſe diſtinct offices? from all which that hath beene ſpoken, it is a neceſſary concluſion and iſſuing from theſe premiſes: to wit,

That as God hath ſet downe not onely a diſtinction of thoſe Offices and Officers which are extraordinary, but alſo ordinary, and that even in theſe ordinary Offices which ſhould ſucceed perpetually in the Church, the leaſt of them cannot take that publike Office upon him without the call of the Church, as was inſtanced in theſe Deacons, Acts the ſixth, it followes invincibly that there is an abſolute and plaine diſtinction betweene, and a difference in, a publike and private Spirit, and ſo of thoſe perſons in whom there are; and that when ſuch places are void, no man can take upon him that arrogancy, (unleſſe in caſe of neceſſitie) to execute them, unleſſe called thereunto.

Againe, that there is difference betwixt the ſpirit of a Miniſter publikely called, and a private man, to whom God hath given the gifts of the Spirit; is proved from Saint *Paul*, where he ſayes, *the Spirit of the Prophets are ſubject to the Prophets*, and not to every private man, as Maſter * *Perkins* ſayes, and hee ſhewes alſo that God doth give a larger meaſure of gifts to Miniſters and publike diſpenſers of his Word and Sacraments, then to ordinary and private men; (*b*) and this alſo may bee proved by a neceſſary induction from thoſe words of the Apoſtle, 1 *Cor.* 14. 5. *I would that you all ſpake with tongues*, from which it is evident, that the Apoſtle by aſcribing to the knowledge of tongues, the Epithite of a ſpirituall gift, and that thoſe men whom God hath called alſo by his Spirit to the worke of the Miniſtery, ſanctifying thoſe gifts unto them; it

(a) For as man & a beaſt being both living things are ſevered one from another by their ſeverall properties and ſpeciall differences, as they be cal'd of the Logicians; even ſo Apoſtles, Prophets, Evangeliſts, Paſtors, and Doctors being all Preachers of the Goſpell, are ſevered by that wherein they differ one from another, and as he can be no man, which have none of theſe differences wherby a man is ſevered from living things, ſo he cannot be Prophet, or Apoſtle, which hath nothing whereby hee may differ from a Paſtor, Doctor, or Evangeliſt. Cartwright, 1. Part of his Reply to Whitgift. Pag. 389. * In his Caſes of Conſcience. (b) The Vertues of the third Commandement conſiſts in the propagation and ſpreading abroad of the true doctrine of Gods Eſſence, not that publication which is done by the publique Miniſtry, and which belongeth to the publique function of the Church, but that propagation which pertaineth to every one, becauſe every one privately in his place is bound to bring others to the knowledge and worſhip of God. Deut. 4. 9. Luke 22. 32. Col. 3. 16. 1 Theſſ. 5. 11. Urſin. Cat.

followes

followes necessarily, that to whom larger gifts are given, both unto the knowledge of tongues, and of the Scriptures in those tongues, that there a larger measure of grace may and doth dwell; now if a larger measure of grace and gifts doe remaine in some men more then others, then those men are more fitter for the greatest Offices in the body, and so likewise a distinction of their duties must be granted for the manner; for the knowledge of the true and exact meaning of the Scriptures, and the extents of the holy Ghosts meaning therein; (c) There must be something else to concurre besides the gifts and graces given to the Elect; and to this purpose (d) Master *Bolton* speakes excellently: and so also how shall the Ministers of God convince the learned adversaries, if there be no skill nor knowledge in Arts and Tongues, from all which it appeares, that as God endued his Ministers with larger measures of gifts in tongues, and in the knowledge of the holy Scriptures, and these being sanctified unto them, and hath not given such large measures to private men, who have not such publike offices designed to them by the Church (becaus indeed not fit) hee must needs be a very strange man that will deny that there are not private gifts, nor private Christians; the consent of judicious, godly, and learned Divines assenting thereunto: and so those Divines, as *Perkins*, *Calvin*, *Bolton*, &c. doe onely shew that there ought to be a mutuall edifying of one another in those graces that God hath given to his people, and members of the Church, but they doe not prove this speech: *That there is no private gifts nor private Christians.*

(c) Without the study, and learning of Arts and Sciences men cannot be made fit to teach, nor the purity and sincerity of doctrine maintained against Heretiques. Ursin. Catt.

(d) Wherefore saith he, serves the Schooles of the Prophets, and the knowledge of Arts and Tongues, but to divide the Word aright, and to distribute to every mans necessities, [Bolton in his 3. Treat. pag.

Now becaus that which followes in your booke, is not to be questioned, but by all faithfull men, Divines, and others granted, to wit, that Christians may edifie one another mutually, and according to those gifts that God hath given them, we will therefore proceed to that which followes to be answered.

And first you make an objection against the universalitie of this truth.

That none ought to preach but those in office, nor else may be properly said to preach. *Object.*

To this you answer, when the dispersed Christians in that persecution were scattered abroad, it it said, that they went about

preaching, and the hand of the Lord was with them, *Act.* 11. 19,20,21.

Rep. But doe you thinke that this is a ſufficient warrant for you to preach publikely, in a time when the Word of God is freely preached by his faithfull meſſengers, and who have ordinary callings thereunto? As for thoſe Chriſtians, without doubt it was extraordinary in them to doe this, and if you had ſeriouſly weighed the circumſtance of the place, and the cauſe thereof, you would not have made ſuch a bad concluſion; for by reaſon of the greatneſſe of the perſecution at Jeruſalem, ſome Chriſtians ſcattered themſelves abroad except the Apoſtles; now the Apoſtles(*e*) remaining at Jeruſalem, privately for feare of the perſecutors as ſome thinke, as St. *Paul* did in the like caſe for feare of the Jewes, and ſo by that meanes the Goſpell could not be preached to them; other places Saint *Steven* was ſtoned, and others of them no doubt but were in priſon, there was now a neceſſitie that the Word ſhould bee preached by them if at all; eſpecially in thoſe parts of *Iudæa*, where the Churches at that time were not planted, or if they were, it was newly done, and theſe Chriſtians no doubt were extraordinarily called to the ſame; and mee thinkes there is ſuch ſtrength in the particle (therefore) of *Act.* 8.4. the ſcope of that Chapter being to declare the perſecution of the Church, and of the ſtoning of Saint *Steven*, and of his buriall, then comes the holy Ghoſt with an inference; (therefore) *thoſe that were ſcattered abroad preached the Word*, implying, that had not that perſecution beene, and that the Apoſtles had not thought fit to ſuſpend their preaching in theſe places, there had beene no ſuch gate opened for theſe men to doe as they did; and beſides alſo in the next verſe, ſpeaking of *Philip*, who was but a Deacon, ſerves to illuſtrate this point, for in the fifth verſe, he went into *Samaria* and preached there, which he could not have done, nor could he, had it not beene a thing extraordinary, and therefore well ſayes (*f*) Maſter *Gaulter* upon the place, now if this was a thing neceſſary and ſo extraordinary in *Philip*, who was an under Church officer; why not in the Chriſtians who were no Church officers at all, and wee finde alſo that *Philip* was one of thoſe ſeven Deacons choſen in

(*e*) Becauſe they would rather loſe their lives at Jeruſalem, then depart from the Congregations they had converted. Gualt. in 4. Acts.

(*f*) At this time Philip, who was but a Deacon might preach, neceſſity requiring it, Ibidem.

in the sixth of *Acts*, from all which I argue thus.

That persons which could not performe the place of an inferiour Church officer, without being ordeined by the Church, could not much lesse performe a greater office, unlesse called by the Church.

But the first is true, *Acts* 6.5,6. as was instanced in the Deacons, *Ergo*, so is the second.

Furthermore it was never the practise of any either in the old or new Testament, that was not in office in the Church, and designed to publike preaching of the Word, that did ever take upon them to preach, (*g*) but upon an extraordinary occasion, and in case of necessitie, as here these men did, let the contrary be proved, and you may write to some purpose. As for the Apostles, they were called extraordinarily by Christ himselfe, inwardly by his Spirit, and outwardly by his owne voyce, onely Saint *Paul*, to whom was added *Barnabas*, was after Christs ascention called to the worke of the Ministery, yet neither of these two, but had the confirmation of their calling, the one by *Ananias*, the other by those of *Antioch*, as also in *Act.* 11. *Barnabas* was sent by the Church at *Jerusalem*.

(g) Neither is there any one except those which are called extraordinarily which can have any assurance of an inward calling but by meanes of the ourward. Cart. 2 rep. 1. part. pag. 260.

For no doubt But God could have given *Paul* his sight, without the laying on of the hands of *Ananias*, but God to shew that he loves order, and that although he can doe things altogether by himselfe, yet he is pleased to use man as an instrument to worke by, and without whom some things cannot be done without manifest violation and breach of his Law, as here it is evident *Ananias* was sent by Christ, that *Paul* might receive his sight and the holy Ghost, that so he might preach the Gospel, now if you will have such sending here as is mentioned in the 10. *Rom.* 15. and such preaching too, although it is wonderfull to see what a strange collection you fetch from the 10. of *Rom.* but I for my part take it, that the Apostle speakes there of the extraordinary sending, and if you please to looke in the Margent (*h*) you shall see the expositions of two excellent judicious, and learned Divines, so that if you collect any thing from these places it must be applyed to extraordinary practise, and if you can plead, and make good the calling to be extraordinary, then you have a sufficient warrant for the fact, but if

(h) Although Paul in this place speak of calling and sending, and this is as I said, ordinary, and extraordinary; there is no doubt but hee speakes here of the extraordinary, Pet. Mart. on this place of the 10. to the Rom. Paul doth not here speak of the lawfull calling of every man, Calvin upon the place.

if you cannot, you must answer to God for your intrusion to such an office, without a sufficient warrant from the Church, and besides, the sincere Ministers of Jesus Christ are utterly against you in the universalitie of this your practise.

But you alleadge the fact of the woman of *Samaria*, at which a man may wonder at; the woman of *Samaria* went and told the *Samaritans* what Christ sayd to her; *Ergo*, a lay man may publikely preach the Gospell; here is an excellent consequence, that hath neither forme nor fashion in it, you might better have concluded that women may preach; for consider judiciously what passage is there in this womans fact, (which you would have ordinary, and inevitable) but may better be applyed to women than to men, and if you are of that minde, then you shall heare the judgement of Divines in that point, *(i)* I but the *Samaritans* beleeved at the report of the woman; What then, therefore a woman may preach? stay good sir, you are too wide, this woman did no more then call her neighbour Citizens to Christ, being convinced in her conscience that he was the Messias, which Christ in plaine tearmes told her, she being now overjoyed to communicate that to others which she now had her selfe, leaving her water pot behinde her, and making hast to informe her neighbours, not onely that he told all that ever she did, but also desiring them to come themselves, and the *Samaritans* beleeved the womans report; to wit, that such a Prophet there was as was promised, being the Messias, and when they came to Christ themselves and had seene manifestations from him, then they beleeved on him, not so much for her speech, but because they had seene those things of him with their owne eyes, which made them cry out, this is the Saviour of the world; so that this womans fact was no more, but in generall termes to call her neighbour Citizens, *Come*, sayes she, *and see a man that told me all that ever*

(i) The Ministery of the Church is not to be committed unto women, but to men. Ursin. Cat. pag. 588. Eng. Our Saviour Christ hath joyned the preaching of the Word, and the administration of the Sacraments together, and this S. Paul knew by the Commandement of Christ, whereupon it follows, that as women may not baptise, so they may not preach. Cart. Rep. to Whitgift. pag. 109. That which these Samaritans beleeved was, that this Christ was the promised Messiah, which yet was not so certaine by the womans report, as appeares in the 42. verse; Now there is difference between beleeving on him generally to be the Messiah, and in particuler for ones salvation; in the first sence the Samaritans beleeved at the womans report, in the second sence when they came to Christ.

I did, is not this the Christ? (k) which was a very short Sermon, and was not so convincing till they had beene with Christ themselves; now what is all this to preaching, or to ones being sent that he might preach; you know Saint *Paul* saies, how shall they preach except they be sent? and sending is either ordinary or extraordinary, and if you will needs have this woman to be a Preacher, shew us her Commission? You will say she preached, but how is that proved? well suppose she did preach (for we will grant nothing) where is her sending mentioned? you will say it is not expressed, her fact is sufficient; I tell you that if she preached, and was not ordinarily called, it followes, it was extraordinary, and so unimitable; and shew me if you can any instance in the Scripture that ever any person tooke upon him to preach publikely, but they were called thereunto, not onely inwardly by God, but outwardly by the Church, and that expressed in the Scripture, unlesse in some cases extraordinary; so even the Apostles themselves, who were extraordinary called, for their manner, yet their calling is set downe, both inward and outward also; and now if the Apostles, who were extraordinarily called for manner, and yet is set downe for all that; how comes it to passe, that the womans fact, which you would have ordinary is not set downe, seeing ordinary callings and ordinary actions, which the succeeding Churches was to walke by for directions, are not registred, the Apostles as was sayd were extraordinary in the manner of their calling, and in the manner of the exemption of that to which they were called, but the substance of their dutie which they exempted, to wit, preaching was communicated to posterity, else how hath God provided for his Church; but as for these allegations of yours out of the *Acts*, and of this woman of *Samaria* (if you will have her a Preacher) they were extraordinary both in circumstance and substance; the reason of the first, because of the persecution at Jerusalem, there were none now to preach the Gospell, but such as God had extraordinarily raised up, and you should doe well to shew us when here was ever any such practise of preaching by lay men in the times of the Apostles libertie, and when they were

(k) She should have dealt very rashly, if she had taken upon her the office of teaching, but seeing she only desires to stir up her Citizens to heare Christ speak, we will not say that forgetting her selfe she went beyond her reach; she only playes the part of a Trumpet or Bell, that she might win men to Christ, for that which I finde in the Psal. 116. 10. I believed, therefore have I spoke, must needs be true, and we must so much the more note the earnestnesse, and the gladnesse of the woman, because only a small sparkle of faith breeds them, for she had yet scarce tasted of Christ when she published him to the City. *Calvin* on the place.

were freed from the stops and hinderances of persecution, then the cause could not possibly but winne credit to judicious understanders; but when you can alleadge no examples then the woman of *Samaria*, and these Christians in the Acts, I must needs conclude to you as Christ did to the woman, *vers.* 22. yee worship you know not what, no more doe you of what you affirme, of the second for the reason before alleadged.

The next argument is taken from the 8. of *Luk.* 39 the man in whom Christ wrought the Miracle being possessed with divels, after the divels were gone from him, Christ bids him to goe to his owne house and tell what great things the Lord had done for him; *ergo*, a lay man may publikely preach the Gospell; this inference is like the former, well, but how prove you hee was a preacher? Marry because the Text saith, hee went and preached, some copies read it *Published*; but it seemes where ever you finde the Word *preached* or *prophesied* in the Scripture, though God he knowes the meaning is farre otherwise, where in this case the holy Ghost onely by way of Narration hath set downe this miracle, and how the person in whom it was wrought, published it, for the joy that possessed him, and why doe not you as well conclude that because those two blind men in *Matth.* 9. 31. that had received their sight, were Preachers too, for the Text saith, *they spread abroad his fame in all that country*, and you may better so conclude from these two then from the other, because these two proclaime his fame. Why although it be a generall expression, yet containes more in it then that, and may as well have relation to Christs doctrine, as to that particular miracle he did to them; in this there was but a dispossession of those divels, and this proclaiming of what Jesus had done for him, now if you will needs have this man to be a Preacher too, and so a warrant for you, you may be pleased to know, that although he had no extraordinary spirit, yet the fact may and was (*l*) extraordinary, because that hee in so doing had the command of Christ, (*m*) and that from his owne mouth, which I thinke you will confesse to be extraordinary, doe you thinke or suppose if the ordinary way as Christ prescribes

(*l*) For some things are extraordinary besides the penning of Scripture and working of Miracles, as we see in *Timothy* and *Titus*, for they went up and down and performed the office of Vice-Apostles when yet they were meerely called by the Church.

(*m*) Christ purposely commandeth him to shew forth the worke of God, so that he being accounted for a true Prophet and Minister of God might so get the more credit to his doctrine. *Calvin* on the place.

ſcribes in *Matth.* 17. 21. if doing Miracles were performed by ſome Miniſters to reſtore a man from ſome ſoare diſeaſe, or to diſpoſſeſſe him from Satan by Prayer and Faſting, would not you (if ſuch a one ſhould diſperſe that act through a whole Citie, when he was wiſhed onely to goe to his owne houſe and to declare what great things the Lord hath done for him) conclude him that ſo did to be a Preacher? I know you would, elſe what can you make of this example, certainely theſe be very ſtrange collections, to ſay, that becauſe ſuch a one receeived ſuch a perticular mercy by Prayer and Faſting, and proclaimed it to his friends or neare neighbours, and to thoſe of his neere acquaintance; he was therefore a Preacher; ſo here, the Act on Chriſts part was ſuddaine, and ſo no doubt but extraordinary, and upon the ſuddaine performance of the ſame, the man proclaimed what Chriſt had ſo done, being full of great joy, that if he could he would, as the Text ſaith, have continued with Chriſt; and may not you as well conclude that thoſe two blind men were Preachers, for they did the ſame that this man did in ſpreading abroad his fame, if you ſay that theſe two were not ſent, but the other were, then let mee aske you this queſtion, where is it ſaid that the woman of *Samaria* was ſent? and yet you will have her a Preacher, and beſides upon the ſame ground that you take her to be a Preacher, upon the ſame will I prove the two blind men to be ſo too, for the woman ſhe called her Citizens to come to Chriſt, the other which was diſpoſſeſſed of the divels went and preached what things God had done for him, and theſe two blind men that Chriſt cured, went and ſpread his fame abroad, now if it be a ſufficient proofe to make a diſſent, in theſe actions becauſe the one Text ſaith, the one preached, and the other hath it not, and ſo to make a difference upon the word (Preaching) which in the ſence is all one, I leave all men to judge.

Furthermore, if the uttermoſt that you can gather from this place be granted you, that this man did preach, yet you cannot hence prove your calling, to wit that a Lay man may publikely preach, being not called by the Church, when there is the meanes that may be afforded for that end, becauſe Chriſt ſent this man out by his voyce and command, and ſo muſt

needs be extraordinary, and that not becauſe he wanted an extraordinary ſpirit, but becauſe he being no Church officer, nor was mediatly called or ſent, but immediatly, for as was ſaid before, ſome things were extraordinary beſides penning of Scripture, and the workes of Miracles, as thoſe actions performed by *Timothy* and *Titus*, they were extraordinary perſons & did and performed acts and offices that were extraordinary for their manner, and their performances made them extraordiry men, whence they are called Evangeliſts, and although they were mediatly called by the Church, yet the execution of that to which they were called made them extraordinary, but here this man was not onely extraordinary in what he did, but alſo was extraordinarily ſent from Chriſts owne vocall commiſſion; now if *Timothy* and *Titus* were extraordinary becauſe they did actions extraordinary for their manner, why is not this man extraordinary, when he was not onely extraordinarily ſent, but did execute that alſo, in an extraordinary manner to which purpoſe he was ſent, neither was a Church officer? likewiſe it behoves you to prove that theſe actions performed by the ſcattered Chriſtians, and the woman, and this man, were perpetually ſo done by them, and not once or twice, which you cannot proye, for there was good reaſon for them now to doe that, but not as Church officers, and ſo left imitable to poſteritie, but as the Chriſtians for the neceſſitie that then was, the woman and the man for the great joy that did then poſſeſſe them, when Chriſt did thoſe things for them.

To that other allegation of yours from that ſpeech of *Moſes*, *Numb.* 11. 29. where he wiſhes that all the Lords people were Prophets, is very impertinent to this purpoſe: do you not know to what end this ſpeech of *Moſes* was, or is your skill in comparing ſpirituall things with ſpirituall ſo weake that you know not how to apply them when they are compared, or elſe in comparing them not right, you apply them to a wrong end: for according to your manner of reaſoning, the argument runs thus; *Moſes* wiſhed that all the Lords people were Prophets, therefore a Lay man or he that is no Church officer may out of extraordinary times preach the word publikely, which is as farre

farre from true reasoning, as *Jerusalem* from *Amsterdam*; but you cannot bee so ignorant as you make your selfe, that the meaning may be this, *that they were Prophets*, that is, that they had a spirit of prophecie, to sound forth the praises of God and to expresse the same by Timbrels and other Musicall Instruments as *Elisha* did in the same manner, 2 *King.* 3.15. but to put you out of all doubts, because we will not use conjectures in so plaine a matter, the true sence is this, which doth best agree with the order of the story in this, *Numb.* 11.29. and in a plaine Narration you may be pleased to understand that these Israelites mentioned in the Chapter *did murmure and complaine, vers.* 1. *Moses* he being not able to beare this burthen desires the Lord in a passionate expression *that he might die, vers.* 14.15. But God moved with the complaint and griefe of his servant yeeldeth him helpers to beare his burden with him, that so he might have the more comfort, *vers.* 16. these 70. men will he have furnished with his Spirit; never placing any to doe a dutie, to whom he gives not a measure of ability to doe the same, and God did here extraordinarily call them to be assistant to *Moses* in this worke of government, and to confirme this calling he did as he promised *Moses, tooke off the spirit that was on him, and gave it to these Elders, vers.* 25. now so soone as this was done the Text saith, *they prophesied and did not cease*, which prophesie did consist in sounding forth Gods praises and also in ministring assistance to *Moses* in this worke of government; now what *Moses* meant by wishing that all the Lords people were Prophets, is easie to finde, for his wish was spoken in relation to *Eldad, and Medads prophesying in the Campe*, peruse the Chapter well, and you cannot but see in what sence *Moses* words are to be taken, that had it not beene that those two Elders were in the Campe who were spoken against by *Joshua, Moses* servant, that expression had never beene uttered by him towards the people, the two Elders being in the Campe, a young man ran and told *Moses*, and said; *Eldad and Medad doe prophesie in the Campe, and Joshua the servant of Moses said, My Lord Moses forbad them, Moses* he answers him with a reproofe. *Envieſt thou them for my sake, saith he, would God that all the Lords people were Prophets*, whereby it appeares that

Moſes his ſpeech muſt needs carry a dependance and reference to thoſe two Elders in the Camp, or elſe it were very incongruous: Now ſhall I aske you this queſtion? Had not *Moſes* ſome ground for his wiſh, and is not this wiſh ſpoken with reference to thoſe two Elders? I know you cannot deny it; doth it not follow then by neceſſary conſequence, that as the Spirit (that God took from *Moſes*, and put it upon theſe Elders, and which Spirit *Moſes* wiſhed were in the Lords people) was a ſpirit of Government, which thoſe Elders were to ſhare in with *Moſes*, and which would have produced a happy effect in the people, if they had had the ſame: Will you ſee an example to illuſtrate this point; Let the example of *Saul* then bee here brought forth, and which comes next to be anſwered. That as he was extraordinarily called by God to his Kingly office, ſo was this his calling confirmed to him by the pouring of his Spirit on him. 1 *Sam.* 10. 6. Such an example we have likewiſe in *Gideon*, in the 6. *Judges* 34. Who by this ſigne of prophecie, and other things joyning with it, had his place confirmed to him, the Spirit it ſelfe was a Spirit of government and of courage and magnanimity to ſupport them, and to fill them with ſufficiency for the performance of thoſe places that God had deſigned them to.

The prophecying it ſelfe conſiſted in ſounding out Gods praiſes by the inſtinct of that Spirit they now had, with Pſaltery, Tabret, and Pipe, and in this very ſence are thoſe places to bee underſtood of *Gideon*, and *Saul*, and *Eliſha*, as alſo a pregnant place to his purpoſe of *Jeduthun* in 1 *Chron.* 25. 3. who is ſaid to propheſie with a Harpe, and to give thankes and praiſe to the Lord; by all which it may appeare what is the true revealed intent of the holy Ghoſt in *Moſes* ſpeech, to wit;

1 Sam. 10. 5.

Paraphraſed. *That the Lord would if hee ſo pleaſed poure upon theſe people (who before did murmure) a ſpirit of government, that ſo they might know how to carry themſelves towards their God and his ſervant* Moſes *their governour, and theſe* 70. *Elders, whom hee had extraordinarily and ſpecially deſigned for that pur-poſe.*

To

To that other objection of *Saul*, in 1 *Sam.* 10. 6. and you have it, 1 *Sam.* 6. 10. but it is no great matter, wee will passe that by, because the whole booke almost is full fraught with ill applications and misconstructions: to the place of *Samuel* then I answer, that the meaning of *Sauls* prophesying is as was sayd before, to sound forth Gods praises, by the instinct of that Spirit he now had, with those Prophets in the fifth verse, the whole story is this. Or changed his spirit.

Foure things *Samuel* had prophesied concerning *Saul*, after his annointing and departing from him and that when these things came to passe, *Saul* might be assured of Gods calling of him to be King; the signes were these.

1. That when he was departed, he should finde two men by *Rachels* Sepulchre, *vers.* 2.

2. That after that hee should meete three men going to *Bethel* to the house of God, *vers.* 3.

3. After that he should meete a company of Prophets with Harpe, Tabret, Pipes, &c.

4. When he came thus farre and saw these Prophets, then the Spirit of the Lord should come upon him, and he should prophesie *with them*.

Now when all these came upon him, he might be assured in the accomplishment of these prophesies that God had called him to be the ruler of the people, and that he should doe them as occasion served, for the hand (*verse* 7.) of the Lord was with him; so that it seemes undeniably that *Sauls* prophesying amongst these Prophets, was such prophesying as theirs was; for so the words (with them) doe clearely intimate the spirit it selfe was poured upon him for the confirmation of his calling, and the effect of that Spirit, filling of him with strength and valour, and also to sound out Gods praises; and besides the holy Ghost hath thought fit to expresse the manner thereof (the Spirit of the Lord came upon him) now God gives his spirit either visibly, or else invisibly; the one is extraordinary, the other ordinary.

(u) The holy Ghost comes visibly not by any locall motion, but by the signes, he workes, onely the signes is taken for the thing it selfe, *Vrsin. cat.*

Now the holy Ghost came upon *Saul* in a visible manner, not by any locall appearance (*u*) but by those signes which were produced to the eyes & senses of the by-standers, his operations;

not

not by any locall or visible signe of himselfe, but by those effects which he wrought.

The holy Ghost is given invisibly when hee bestowes his gifts, not so much with infallible, outwards & externall testimonies, as by an inward operation on the faculties of the soule, in measures, and so is given to wicked men, and the elect; to wicked men at the best speculatively regenerating them; to the elect both speculatively and practically.

The gifts of the Holy Ghost, as Miracles, and Tongues, Prophesies were given in the Apostles times in an extraordinary manner, *ibid.*

The spirit then was given to *Saul* in an extraordinary manner visibly by those effects he did produce, so that it appeares that his example serves your turne not one whit, for if the holy Ghost came upon *Saul* in an extraordinary manner, and that this his prophesying consisted in praysing God with Tabret, Pipe, as the Prophets did in the fift verse, and hee with them, then what can this prove to your purpose? & as the holy Ghost was given to the Apostles in the primitive Church extraordinarily & immediatly because of those effects they did produce, why not upon *Saul* who had this spirit given him immediatly as appeares by the effects they wrought in him? *as making him another man, and by his prophesying*, all which were confirmations extraordinary to confirme his calling of being King, which was extraordinary also, the like we see in *David*, 1 *Sam.* 16. 13. who had the Spirit poured upon him in the same manner as it was on *Saul*, and all to fit him for those weightie duties of his kingly office, and although *David* had not such visible conspicuous signes at his annointing as *Saul* had, yet wee reade in 1 *Sam.* 16. 18. that he was strong, valiant, a man of warre; in so much that it is said, 1 *Sam.* 18. 14, 15. that *Saul* was afraid of him, all which things being laid together will evince this truth, to wit that these were extraordinary Spirits in their manner of being given to certaine persons; again if *Saul* were a Preacher, as this allegation seemes to insinuate, then a question would be asked, to whom did he preach? It is said indeed he prophesied, but there is divers kinds of prophesie in Scripture, onely the Text saith he prophesied with the rest of the Prophets, but not that he preached to any, for hee neither did as the Samaritan woman did, nor as the man in whom the devils were; and truly their actions and performance of them doe manifest a dispa-

ritie,

ritie, the woman went onely and told what things had passed betweene her selfe and Christ. The man preached it, but as for King *Saul*, he prophesied by the instinct of that spirit he now had in praysing and singing with instruments of musicke to God, which did confirme him in his extraordinary call of being King, all which you could not chuse but know, onely it seemes you are disposed to make the world merry.

To the next, 1 *Sam.* 19. 20. where *Saul is said to send messengers to David, and that they prophesied*, that is all one with the other, 1 *Sam.* 10. 6. and *Sauls* messengers here prophesied, with the rest of the Prophets, as *Saul* himselfe did there, and their prophesying must needs have reference to the prophesying of the Prophets, for so the words imply, that when these messengers came and said the colledge or company of the Prophets, then saith the Text, *they also prophesied*, and so also in the same manner did *Saul* himselfe prophesie; Now what this prophesie was is expressed in 1 *Sam.* 10. 6. as before was declared, it consisted in sounding forth Gods praises with Tabret, Pipe, Harpe, and as *Jeduthun* did, 1 *Chron.* 25. 3. and this was to declare the infinite power and mercy of God towards *David*, whom *Saul* now had an intent to have slaine, as appeares by the whole Chapter, *Saul* sending his messengers, and going himselfe, yet all could not doe, nor bring to a full period his wicked designes against *David*, the like example wee have in 2 *King.* 1. of those two Captaines and their fifties, *that came to apprehend the Prophet Eliah*, these men thinking to bring the Prophet to King *Ahaziah*, their ends were frustrated, and they themselves were consumed with fire from heaven, wherein the power & mercy of God, was also manifested towards *Eliah*. So that it appeares here, it was the wonderful mercy of God to *David* to deliver him from the hands of *Saul* & his messengers, the opportunitie being so, that notwithstanding *Saul* sent time after time, yet God so ordered the matter, that these messengers being sent from *Saul* who was enraged against him, vers. 10. could not have accesse, much lesse to doe him any wrong; so gracious is the Lord, that to vindicate his peoples innocency or else his owne in them, that the strongest assaults of wicked men, though attended with never so much policie, shall chal-

lenge no succesſe but by his over-ruling power, not that God had a ſpeciall ayme that theſe men ſhould be Preachers, meet teſte to be example therein to poſteritie, but onely that God might deliver *David* from the hands of *Saul*; nay, *Saul* himſelfe who like *Herod*, after he had ſent forth the wiſe men to diſcover Chriſt but came not againe, was now as much in his bedlam moods as *Saul* was at this time, who went himſelfe to *Ramah*, *and the Spirit of the Lord came upon him, and he propheſied and rent his cloathes*, as an infallible teſtimony of a convicted conſcience for purſuing ſo innocent a man as *David* was; an excellent example wee have to this purpoſe in the 7. of *Iohn*. 46. of the Phariſees who ſent their meſſengers to fetch Chriſt before them, but contrary to their expectation, that in ſtead of theſe mens intended fact of taking Chriſt, Chriſt tooke them, and as they came to apprehend Chriſt, as *Sauls* meſſengers did *David*, they were ſo wrought upon by his powerfull ſpeeches, that in the 46. verſe they cry out, *That never man ſpake like this man*; and you may better conclude that theſe ſervants of the Phariſees were Preachers, then *Sauls* meſſengers; and the reaſon is ſtronger in them then in the other; for,

Sauls meſſengers propheſied among the Prophets when there was not ſuch neede, but onely here that the workes of God might be made manifeſt, turning that into good which theſe men intended for evill, and never returned againe, to give *Saul* account of his meſſage. But here theſe men that came to Chriſt had their eyes opened, and had ſome ſmatterings of illumination that he was Chriſt, and did alſo returne to the Phariſees againe, declaring Chriſts ſaying, *Never man ſpake like this man*, theſe men had beene better preſidents for you to have proved the point; all the marrow of the buſineſſe I ſee lies in this one word (Propheſie) which if you were at a dead lift, as here you are, can never helpe you, conſidering its divers acceptations.

As for that you ſay afterwards, that theſe men were no way extraordinary, for ſo your words imply, they had no extraordinary ſpirit, *Ergo*, were not extraordinary.

Here you ſhew your ſelfe either very ignorant in the Scriptures, or elſe your writing at this time was very raſh and inconſiderate,

siderate, and because I have here just occasion to speake of that I mentioned before, let me aske you this question.

If nothing were extraordinary but the penning of Scripture and the workes of Miracles, how shall we dispute against the Hierarchie to prove that *Timothy* and *Titus* were extraordinary Officers, by those offices and acts which they did, if nothing were extraordinary but what you say? for you affirme (when it was objected that these men had extraordinary spirits) that none had extraordinary spirits but they that pen'd the Scriptures, or wrought Miracles, implying, that because they had not extraordinary spirits in penning Scriptures or working Miracles, therefore they were not extraordinary, and so you have with one puffe taken away all the strength of the Antiepiscopall partie, and given occasion to them to triumph in the discord which they maliciously attribute to our Divines; for my part I leave you either to cleare your selfe, or else to acknowledge your error, for it is manifest abroad in the world, that by reason of the ill, unadvised, rash, inconsiderate, impertinent Pamphlets that are now extant (setting some aside) the adversaries of a through reformation do not sticke to say in their Bedlam fits, that all dissentions about the Church are set on foot, by the occasion of our best and sincerest Draines.

To the next you say, that such a spirit as this was promised to all Gods people.

It is most true, that God hath promised to his people a spirit of Prophesie, but now all the question is what this kinde of Prophesying is, because it serves much for the illustration of this point; and the opening of this Text, there are then divers acceptations of the word Prophesie in Scripture.

1. It is taken in the strictest sence, for foretelling things to come, thus the Prophets, as *Isaiah*, *Jeremiah*, *Ezekiel* were Prophets.

2. For publike preaching the Word, by Sermons to the Church, so it is taken and attributed to the Shepherds of *Israel*, men in a publike office in the Church, *Ezek.* 34. 2. *Isa.* 56. 10.

3. For private interpretation (yet not being contrariant to publike doctrines that are true) for the use and benefit of the Church, so it is taken in 1 *Cor.* 14 now although these men

 here

Wee doe not read in all these two Epistles to the *Corinthians*, that there were any setled Pastors, and therefore these mens prophesying in the publike meetings, was without all doubt extraordinary.

here of Corinth did according to their gifts given them, exercise publikely, yet they did not doe it as publike Church Officers, but as men private, not in what they did, but as they were, for there were now as is thought, no publike Church Officers, and the Apostles with their fellow Labourers did constantly visit them, both by personall presence, and Epistles.

4. For sounding forth Gods praises by musicall instruments, as Harps, Pipes, &c. so it is taken in 1 *Sam.* 10. 5. 1 *Chron.* 25. 3.

5. For professing and celebrating God to all Gods people doe, prophesie, and are likewise Prophets, *Luke* 1. 67. *Matth.* 10. 32.

Now in what sence you take this speech in the 2. *Act.* 18. is presently proved, for you take it to be meant of a Spirit of prophesie, to consist not only so interpret Scriptures privately, but publikely too; and it so appeares, because you bring this Text to prove a promise made to some, nay to all Gods people, to enable them publikely to dispence the heavenly Misteries of Salvation: but now what reason can you bring to prove this Text is so be so expounded, I see not: if you can produce none but your own fancy, then you will give me leave to dissent from you for this reason: you know the Scriptures call Gods people Prophets, as before was instanced, and if they are Prophets, then they have a propheticall office, which consists (according to your description) in publike Preaching of the Word of God, as well as professing it: only you are defficient in your proving it, unlesse your bare affirmations be proofs: but Sir, one word with you, let me tell you as a friend, you have done wonderfull wrong to the sacred Scriptures, thus to abuse them by such wretched and extorted Exposicions; the true meaning of the place is this, as if Saint *Peter* had said, or the Lord by Saint *Peter*. *I will poure out my Spirit in those dayes, and on your Sons, Daughters, I will poure out my Spirits, and they shall prophesie*: That is, * Professe my Name, Truth, walk according to those dictates of my Spirit, celebrating and praising me; so that it appeares that this your mistake issues from an universall Exposition of a Word, which you see admits of divers acceptations (Prophesie) in the only

* So *Vrsinus* expounds the place.

beame

beame that hides the truth from approaching your judgement; is it true that all Preaching is Prophesying, but all Prophesie is not Preaching, and I wonder a man should be so miserably mistaken, as to expose himselfe to the publike censures of learned Divines, who cry out in their Pulpits against such impertinent allegations, certainly if wee had but the Presbyteriall disipline established in the Church (o) you would goe neare to comb under the scourge of Ecclesiasticall censure, for broaching such detestable opinions, although you never practised them, because herein you open wide the mouthes of the Anabaptists; and in the meane time if you repent not of this your sinne, you shall certainly answer to that God before whom there is no respect of persons in the dispensations of his justice, and chastisements, and if a Spirit of Prophecy be admitted in your sence, then it will follow, that all Gods people must bee publike Preachers, for what other sence or interpretation can the words admit, or your allegations from this Text, for the holy Ghost saith (they shall Prophesie) and you say this Prophesie is publike Preaching, which is a pretty exposition and serves excellent well to trouble the Church.

As for that you say, that some object and say, that this promise was made good in the Apostles times, are you able to disprove them that so say, or doe you know what you doe in taking upon to answer such an objection. All that you can say is (If in the Apostles times they were called the last times, much more now) all this is true in it self, but it behooved you to shew, that the last times there mentioned are our last times in which we live, for it is not to be denied but the Apostles times were the last times, and the last times, are also our times, and therefore the Apostles, as *Peter* and *Paul*, when they speake of the last times do give us evident light, that when such or such things come to passe that then we may assure our selves that those last times are the last times they meane, and so when the Apostle saith in the last dayes, or towards them, shall come perillous times, wherein men shall be lovers of themselves, covetous, proud, boasters, cursed speakers, &c. and this signe saith Mr. *Perkins* hath beene in former ages, and is no doubt at this day in the world.

(o) O Lord who can patiently heare this horrible disorder ascribed to the Apostles Church, which here you attribute unto it, that every one hand overhead Preached, Baptized, and expounded the Scriptures; what a window, nay what a gate is here opened to Anabaptists to confirme their fantasticall opinion, wherein they hold that every man whom the Spirit moves, may come even from the Plough-taile to the Pulpit to Preach the Word of God, *Cart. 1. Rep.* to *Whitg* p. 37. 38.

So you see that some times are sayd to bee the last times not because they are so in themselves but with reference to certaine speciall things which then happen; now the last times here in *Joels* prophesie, and in Saint *Peters* allegation is (as (p) *Calvin* excellently notes) spoken in reference to the going out of the Jewish Church; for so his words import, which was some foure or five hundred yeares after *Joels* prophesie, and therefore they that sayd this Prophesie was fulfilled in the Apostles time, say more then you shall ever bee able to disprove; yet you must take some limitation; this promise was not so universally fulfilled in the Apostles time (q) as that the people of God in after ages reape no benefit from it, but the speciall thing in *Joels* Prophesie, as visions, telling things to come, was fulfilled in the Apostles time, as appeares by Saint *Peters* allegation, and therefore Protestant Divines doe affirme against the Jesuites that this promise was fulfilled in the Apostles daies, so saith (r) Dr. *Willet*, *Ruffinus* an ancient writer saith *they are impudent that thinke otherwise*, onely *Cornelius a Lapide*, a learned Jesuite, with *Bellarmine*, and deny it, because forsooth, they alledge this place of *Acts* to prove their Church are never without Prophets that can foretell things to come.

(p) That the Jewes might know the Church could not be repaired which was now almost ruined, but by the Messias, that is the sence of *Calvin* on the second of *Acts*. (q) It comprehends a larger knowledge of him which was to bee given to the faithfull in the Kingdome of Christ, *Cal. inst. pag. 706.* (r) In his *Synop Pap.* St. *Peter* shewed how these prophesies were fulfilled when the holy Ghost was sent like fiery cloven tongues, and he citeth the very words of *Joel* to confirme the same Saying, Dr. *Williams* true Church, pag. 547.

But the other part of this Prophesie in *Acts* 2. *verse* 18. doth belong to Gods people to the end of the World and doth conteine a spirit of conformitie, and of professing the name, truth of God; so *Calvin* and *Ursinus* expound the place; *Calvin* saith it is referred to the worshippers of God, those that are in Covenant with him, &c. *Ursinus* of professing and celebrating God, so that from hence it is evident, you can have small comfort from these Texts; And I must further admonish you, to take heede, ere you bee aware lest you slide into the Tents of the Papists while you thus plead for a Text, and the exposition thereof.

To

To the next, contained in six Answers; None is fit for the work of the Ministry, unlesse he be skilled in Arts & Tongues, for if he be not so qualified, how shall he be able to answer the learned Adversary? Neither is it your answer that hath, or ever will prove the contrary; if you had said, The true understanding of the Scripture comes not only by humane learning, then your speech might have been admitted, and the Texts of Scripture that you have alleadged, prove nothing to this purpose, or if they did, yet they doe not exclude humane Learning; the scope of the Apostles meaning in that place of 1 *Cor.* 2. 13. and yours is, 2 *Cor.* 2, 3 3. is to shew that we cannot understand or know that Eternall Love, that superabounding mercy, that incomprehensible sweetnesse that is to be found in the powerfull wayes of Jesus Christ, but by the Spirit; this is evidently proved from the foregoing Chapter; the Apostle speaking that Christ was made unto us Wisdome, Righteousnesse, Sanctification, and Redemption, proceeds all along, telling us that we cannot know these things but by the Spirit, for as no man knowes the things of man, but the spirit of a man which is in him, so nothing can reveale Gods love to the soule concerning Predestination, and Sanctification, but the Holy Ghost; which sheds abroad the love of God in the hearts of his people; and as Jesus Christ doth impart these things by his Spirit to his people, so he sends his Ministers to preach the same, not in the words of mans wisdome, but in the demonstration of the Spirit. Now I would intreat you in the next Pamphlet, to tell me if there be not a large difference between the interpretation of the true and universall, revealed meaning of the Holy Ghost in the sacred Scriptures, as well by the understanding of the Originall, and line reading, pointing, collation, as by the Spirit himselfe: And the certification of those things that concerne a mans Eternall Salvation, by the same Spirit, which lye hid in Gods everlasting love, yet revealed in the Scriptures, of which the Apostle here speaks: It is true, a man may run into extreames as well one way as in another; And as he that is skilled in Arts and Tongues, without the light of the holy Ghost, cannot universally interpret & apply

Scripture

Scripture according to the minde of Christ, so a man that is destitute of skill in Arts and Tongues, and hath nothing in him, but that light which proceeds from Gods Spirit, cannot on the other side expound according to the originall, for God workes by meanes, he will and doth convey his minde revealed, so farre forth as men can comprehend him, with the conjunction of those meanes he hath ordeined instrumentally to communicate himselfe; now your selfe saith, that this may be desired in those that want it, besides the Apostle wishes that the *Corinthians* had the gifts of tongues, calling it a spirituall gift; now if this be a spirituall gift, and ought so be desired, and without which a man cannot interpret according to that tongue in which the holy Ghost spake, then God doth communicate himselfe more to him in larger measures of his revealed will, by those meanes he hath ordeined and commended to that purpose, then to him who is deficient in the enjoyment of those meanes, by which he so conveyes himselfe, and so he that is universally qualified and hath both these, is fit for the worke of the ministery, (*f*) and so is not he that is wanting in either; true it is that Jesus Christ hath not greater adversaries then those that are greatly learned, and unsanctified, witnesse the Pharisees; but yet againe, he hath no greater friends and souldiers to fight his battels (although vilified by the world) then those who have those humane excellencies sanctified unto them; to the other five answers, because they are for their substance conteined in the first, and are answered in that, I will here passe them by and come to the next, where you say;

All the call mentioned in Scripture, was the peoples great necessitie, and their great willingnesse to heare is most untrue; yet to be admitted in cases extraordinary, and if you had made that limitation you had done well, but when your speeches are indefinite, making no caution and restruction, where it is required, you shew your palpable ignorance, for God hath prescribed other things as additionall to the calling of a Minister publikely to preach the Word, besides the peoples necessitie and their owne willingnesse, his orders must be observed, not neglected, now the peoples necessitie is to be relatively considered,

(*f*) Therefore to the end that unquiet and troublesome men should rashly thrust in themselves to teach or rule; it is expresly provided, that no man should without calling take upon him a publike office in the Church unlesse called. This we may oftentimes marke in *Paul*, when hee meanes to approve his Apostleship, hee doth alledge his calling; if so great a Minister dare not take this upon him but by the commandement of the Lord, how great shamefulnesse shall it be, if any man wanting either of these shall challenge such honour to himselfe, *Calv. instit. pag. 522.*

dered, and so made their election, but before a Minister can be compleatly fitted for the publike function of the Church, hee must be ordained by the Presbytery, for if none be fit for the publike function of the Ministery, but men sufficiently learned, as before was declared, how can the people judge of his ability who have no knowledge therein? And if the Apostles would not have any to execute the office of a Deacon in the Church, which was a lesser, and an inferior Church-officer, why should those that are designed to a greater and more publike duty miss of that confirmation? And (t) although a man can plead never so much his inward calling, yet sent he must be as well by the Church, as by God himselfe; and shew if you can any person in the New or Old Testament, that ever publikely Preached, unlesse in extraordinary cases, but he was confirmed in his calling by the Church; now what necessity you can plead is somewhat hard to be understood; doubtlesse there was no necessity in you so to doe, when there were godly Divines and others to do it; or is your necessity so great, as those Christians in the 8. *Acts* when there were none at all, but the Apostles now at the persecuted Church at Jerusalem? if you object, that those Ministers that did so preach, did not Preach Jesus Christ purely; what of that, they preached him truly, did they overthrow any substantiall points of Faith? the Apostle *Paul* notwithstanding did rejoyce when some preach Christ out of envy: so although they preached him not purely, yet they preached him truly.

To the next.

Spenc. *That it may be lawfull in a mans family, but not in a Church.*

Answ. And so it may be lawfull in a mans family, but not in a Church.

For as there is no member of the body of Jesus Christ, but is of the same nature of the whole, a publike member of a publike body, and the spirit proceeding from the head to every member is one and the same spirit, and his gifts of like nature, publike gifts of a publike spirit, for the good of the whole body; and so though they be members of one body, and are to be assistant one to another in that body, yet can these members performe the duties of each other? indeed in the generall they may because the generalitie

(t) You should understand that the assurance of the inward calling dependeth upon the outward, for albeit the Spirit of God worketh that assurance, yet he worketh by the outward means, by the judgement of the Elders, and of the Church, touching his aptnesse for the Ministery, whilest he considereth that calling is not the calling of men, but of God, through the Ministry of men; so that this separation of the knowledge of an inward calling from the outward is not only absurd, but confirmes the Anabaptists, which boast of an inward calling, where no calling of the Church went before. *Cart. 2. rep. to Whitg. 1. part. p. 260, 261.*

of their duty is to be assistant; but here lies the question, whether one member can performe the office of another, which is perticularly appropriated to him, and none other? or as you had it before, can the eye performe the office of the hand, or the hand of the eye? for as you say, *though in respect of congregated bodies, the more part are out of office, yet as we are one body in Christ & members one of another, first all members may be generally assistant to the service of the whole*, but can every member performe that which is specially affirmed of, and attributed to one? if you grant it, then *factum est*, it is done, Anabaptisme, and Anarchie, and all, we shall have come tumbling into the Church; for tell me, are not you he that said a little before from the Apostle, that the chiefest members cannot say to the least, I have no need of thee; now if every member can performe that which is specially affirmed of another, then how can you justifie your speech from the Apostle, who saith, the one hath need of the other, and if the one have need of the other, it followes that hee wants that in another which hee cannot performe himselfe; if one have no need of another, then he cannot onely doe that which properly is this, but that also which is specially attributed to another, and so you have falsified the Apostle, and beaten your selfe with your owne weapon.

To the next, tis true, *that in the work of Reformation it is necessary that all errours should be discovered, and all truths imbraced*, but you have very slenderly proved that your universall practice is a truth, and if you bring no better reason then you have here in your booke published to the world, I am not afraid to tell you, that in stead of being truth, it is a most notorious untruth, and such a one, that you going about to prove true, you have both exposed your selfe, to abundance of censure from godly Divines, but also shewed the ignorance in resting upon such broken Reeds that will never hold in the tryall, and besides, are there not abundance of faithfull Ministers of Jesus Christ that notwithstanding they have had their admission into their publike offices from the Prelates, yet doe preach Christ in his puritie, and doe not you here shew your pride, that dare take acception of their allowance by the Prelates for (*u*) they would not preach the Word publikely, nor take upon them

(*u*) Say a man have been trained up in the Schols of learning, and have never so great gifts, and fitnesse to exercise a publike office in the Church, yet he may not take upon him to Minister till he first be approved, 1. *Tim.* 3.10. that would upon a gap to dangerous Schismes in the Church, good therefore it is to hearken to the advice of the Apostle, *Rom.* 12.3. *Hilderham* on Joh. *pag.* 248.

them any publike function in the Church, unleſſe they were externally allowed thereunto, and although there be imperfections in the ſame, yet Sir, the ſubſtance of it is conteined in their ordination, being onely this, that Miniſters ſhould be examined, and proved for their abilitie to be apt to teach, 1 *Tim.* 3. 2. and by ſound doctrine to exhort and convince the gainſayers; now can every man that pretends the ſpirit be able to convince, nay are they able to ſpeake a word to a learned adverſary? and is it fit now that ſuch ſhould have any publike office in the Church? In the 1 *King.* 12. 31. it is noted by the holy Ghoſt as a fault in *Jeroboam*, that hee made Prieſts of the (x) loweſt of the people, which was a great prophanation to the Miniſtry, and that he tooke them not out of the Tribe of *Levi*, which were men fitted and qualified for the Miniſtery, and if this were a fault in *Jeroboam*, becauſe he chuſed ſuch as he ſhould not chuſe, why ſhall it not be a fault and a great preſumption in you to take that function upon you without a call by the Church, and I am afraid that in ſtead of expecting a glorious Reformation, we may rather expect a hinderance of the ſame, occaſioned by your practiſe, uſe your gifts you may in a private way (and it were to be wiſhed, that you did not ſo tumultuouſly draw ſuch a number of people after you) the reaſon is becauſe it doth open the mouths of the adverſaries of a thorough Reformation, which if it were otherwiſe, might leſſe offend good Chriſtians, and upon the right performing of the ſame, might have good warrant from the Word of God.

(x) You know they meane the baſeſt of the people, ſuch as gave but one leap out of the Shop into the Church, as ſuddenly are changed from a Serving mans Coat, into a Miniſters Cloak, making for the moſt part the Miniſtery their laſt Refuge. *Cart. 1. rep. to Whig ſt. pag. 26.*

FINIS.

A Number 11

CONTINVATION

Of certain Speciall and Remarkable passages informed to the PARLIAMENT, and otherwise from divers parts of this Kingdome, from Thursday the 7. of *March* till Thursday the 14. of *March*. 1643.

Containing these Particulars, viz.

1. A true relation of Sir *William Wallers* advance in the West, and Colonell *Dalberes* taking of a Waggon of provision from the Cavaliers at *Basing House*.
2. A true relation of the *Kentish Mens* advance to Sir *William Waller*.
3. A true relation of Privie Seales for the raising of monyes for his Majesty in the West.
4. A true relation of the coyning of farthing tokens at *Brissoll*, and to what use.
5. A true relation of Lieutenant Colonell *Gray*, his victory against *Marwaring* at *Leicester*.
6. A true relation of the siege at *Newarke*, and what hath beene done by Sir *Iohn Meldrom* since the last letters there hence.
7. A true relation of the number of horse under Sir *William Belfore*, for the conveying the Ammunition from *Warwick* to *Glocester*.
8. A true relation of Sir *Iacob Astley*, his proceedings at *Redding*.
9. A true relation of the *Scotts* taking *Sunderland*, and *Durham*, and their proceedings since their comming over the River, certified by letters this weeke to the Parliament.
10. A true relation of sundry late exploits by the honored Lord *Fairfax*, and Sir *William Constable*, certified by letters to the House of Commons this weeke.
11. A true relation of the names of seaven *Scotch* Lords that have laid downe their Commissions and gone into *Scotland*.
12. A true relation of the proceedings of the Islands of *Gersey*, and *Garnsey*.
13. A true relation of Sir *William Belfords* proceedings.
14. A true relation of the States of *Hollands* intentions.
15. A true relation of these two dayes proceedings against the Arch-Bishoppe of *Canterbury*.

London Printed for *F. Coles*, and *T. Lonch*, & are to be sold in the *Old-Baily*.

A CONTINVATION OF Certaine Speciall and Remarkable passages informed to the Parliament, and otherwise from divers parts of this Kingdome.

From Thurſeday the 7. of *March*. till Thurſday the 14. of *March*. 1643.

THe nature of man by an inward inclination is alwayes inquiſite of newes. This weekes newes according to the beſt intelligence I have received, is of great concernment both from the North now in act on, and of the Weſterne preparation for Action; Firſt therefore it is to be noted, that the Parliament though they have locked up in their breſts their incommunicable purpoſes, and ſo worke upon divers occaſions, as that the effects have beene ſeene to come abroad, before the cauſe could be knowne, yet at laſt it is moſt evident that thoſe their ſecret deſignes ever tended to the publique good, and that therefore a ſpeedy period may be put to theſe diſtractions, whereby we may receive the fruits of the earth and other Gods bleſſings in due ſeaſon, The vigilant Parliament perceiving the Enemies approaches in the Weſt, hath this weeke taken order, that all the Armies now on foote, do march for the ſpeedy and finall rooting of the Kings Enemies there, and to that end that Noble Generall Sir *William Waller* of the Weſt, is now gone to his Army, with ſuch orders and directions as doubtleſſe within few dayes we ſhall heare good ſucceſſe of his advance.

There hath beene already some good exploits since his departure, viz. that Captaine *Dolbery*, Captaine *Turner*, and Captaine *Thompson*, with about 200 horse, came and faced *Basing House*, where after a little stand, the Foxes and Wolves there, perceiving, came immediatly forth and followed their prey full or neere *Odiame*, other some in the intrim fell a robbing the Country, and gott a Waggon full of provision, after which the villains left chasing these three Captaines and returned towards their Denns, upon which our forces following, tooke and slew neere twentie with their Waggon full of provision, This beginning though not much, yet I hope it betokens a greater ending.

The *Kentish* forces have beene this tenne dayes expecting Orders to March, who without al doubt have ere this Orders from Sir *William Waller*, to meet at the generall Randevouze of the Generall.

There are already twelve hundred upon their March, and so by degrees more in order, and whether Sir *Henry Heyman*, or Sir *Miles Lucy* be Commanders in cheife for the Horse and Foote there, it is not yet certainly knowne.

The Cavalry Westward hath prety understanding of the Parliaments preparations, and therefore to allure the Commonalty to serve their turnes, do in open Streets in the Westerne Towns promise the Souldiers free quarter besides the Kings pay, yea and by credible report promiseth them the spoile of freind or foe, during this Rebellion as they terme it, but there hath of late beene a great distraction amongst the Officers and Gentry, some whereof not using to such villanies of pillering, or to burthen the Subject more then by the Law of God is pleasing, have laid down their Commissions, and quite diverted the Romish faction, which no little troubleth the Councell at *Oxford*, but they have invented a new course to raise monyes to appease the mutinees which is likely else to ensue, and that is, they send privie Seales abroad to the Gentry in the Countries for so much monyes according to their abilities, or else imprisonment without Baile or Maine prise.

From *Bristoll* there is intelligence that there is coyning apace, and cheifely for the Common Souldiers, because their silver is too

great, therefore they ſhall be payed in Tinkers Mettall, farthing tokens, and the twenty or tenne ſhilling peeces of ſilver for the gentry which was another cauſe, that of 2000. lately preſſed in the Weſt for the Lord *Hopton* at *Wincheſter*, runne at every nights lodging a 100 at a clap, and at *Stockbridge* they fetcht their laſt run, ſo that there came into *Wincheſter* onely twenty five of that number.

There is a whiſpering that Sir *John Stowell*, Governour of *Taunton Deane* is ſlaine (which if true) one of the chiefeſt and powerfulleſt gallant, for monies is gone, for although Mr. *Coventry Portman*, *Mallets* and others hath the witt, yet this Gentleman had the money which ruleth the reſt.

From *Leiceſter ſhire*, the defeate given to *Manwaring* and his gang by Leiutenant Colonell *Gray* is ſufficiently expreſſed by others, eſpecially in the Diurnall, I ſhall adde onely this, that whereas there hath beene a ſaying that three Taylors goes to man, ſo three Cavaliers in any action yet makes not a man, or performes not one mans part, for here was about 200 to 50.

This weeke there hath beene ſome time ſpent about the number of the Officers formerly preſented to the Houſe for the manging of his Excellencies Army under him, and now fully agreed on, one onely Gentleman excepted, who for the preſent I will forbeare nominating till further or a more certeinter relation of the truth.

I have not heard of the Ammunition from *Warwick* yet conveied to *Glouceſter*, for want of which, that Governour is in diſtreſſe, by reaſon of the Duke of Plunderlands great forces lying betweene the two Townes, other ſome ſay that hee hath left that deſigne and ſteered his courſe towards *Newarke*, thinking thereby to raiſe the forces of Sir *John Meldrum*, it may the better bee brought to *Glouceſter* if this be true, but whatſoever is reported in this kind, I rather beleeve hee will fall on his firſt enterpriſe then that of *Newarke*, becauſe the Prince is better verſed in the one then the other, howſoever bee it ſo as reported, yet this Noble Gentleman is reſolved to ſtand to the worke, and thankes bee

to

to God hee hath hitherto had good ſucceſſe, and makes no doubt to gaine that towne within fixe dayes, as his owne Letters to the Houſe makes mention of, for hee is gotten neerer, and tooke a bridge called *Markcham Bridge*, which is very advantagious for the reſt of his enterpriſes, and another Bridge and moſt of their outworkes. This Towne by all relations is roundly compact, and on a quaking ſoile, and the enemy is of horſe and foote therein neere 4000. and therein is alſo the treaſure of Papiſts and Malignants, beſides one of the three places which neſtleth the great incendiaries of this State, which if once gained the Cavalry may ſing the Iriſh ditty upon the Engliſhes conquering Ireland *all agoe, all agoe*, what ſhall we doe.

Sir *William Betford* Major Generall of the Horſe is alſo conceived to bee gone towards *Redding*, to bring up the arreare of the Cavalry for to aſſiſt the Ammunition to *Glouceſter*, who hath neere under his Command alſo 1500. which without queſtion this Gentleman and Souldier will make a vent for his paſſage and that with ſpeede for the good of *Glouceſter*, and the worthy Inhabitants therein.

Redding, that brave Ingenier Sir *Iacob Aſhley* doth fortifie as though he would have it his everlaſting habitation, & hath almoſt rounded the Towne with exceeding ſtrong fortifications, and hath had lately three peeces of Ordnance more for its ſupportance, but let them remember how they have falſified their Proteſtations to the Lord Generall, who ſo Nobly gave them their owne demands conditionally never to make it a Gariſon hereafter, but if their vowes and proteſtations be not to bee beleeved, their bare words will be hereafter denyed.

There is an expreſſe from *Hull*, and another from *Sunderland*, come to the Parliament the 12. of *March*, with ſeverall Letters, to this purpoſe: That the *Scotts* were at *Sunderland* and *Durham*, 3. *March*. 1643 That they advanced to *Hartlepoole* to purſue the flying Popiſh Army, and with two thouſand men have beſieged it towards the land, and have ſummoned the Governour thereof: From *Hull* they write, by Letters dated the eight of *March*, that the

Lord

Lord *Fairefax* hath taken *Stampford-Bridge*, within eight miles of *Yorke*, and three peeces of Ordnance, and routed the enemy in the *East Riding*: That Colonell *Lambert* hath taken eleven Troops of Horse in the West Riding, and perfued the enemy towards *Yorke*: That Generall *King*, and Sir *Thomas Glenham* are sicke; That all the honest and Religious people in *Yorke* are turned out of the City, and their goods seized on, and particularly, Sir *Thomas Widdrington*, his Lady and Children. Captaine *Crapley* writes from *Barwicke*, that he sent his long boats ashore to *Sunderland*, and that the *Scotts* were in good condition, and that the Apostate Sir *Hugh Cholmley* hath burnt part of *Whitby*, and that he put some of the Townsmen to the sword, and that in the meane time Sir *William Constable* laid siege to *Scarborough* on the land side.

From *Oxford* there is Intelligence that seven Scotch Lords are gone to raise forces in *Scotland* for His Majesty, whereof three of them are the Lord *Crauford*, Lord *Liddall*, and the Lord *Agleby*, others contradicts that saying, and say they have laid downe their Commissions and gone upon other designes, so that of the two I know not which to give credit thereto

From the Island of *Gersey* there is intelligence that the Lord of *Marlebro* hath lately beene there and presed the Islanders the *Oxonian* Oath, which for the generality was taken, some few onely excepted and imprisoned, from thence his Lordship sayled to *Garnsey*, where hee welcomed to the Malignant Govert our Sir *Peter Osborne* of *Castle Cornet*, and supplyed him with as much provision and Ammunition as will serve him this quarter of a yeare.

The Earle of *Warwicke* sent speedily after the Kings shipping, but they were gone before they came thither, so that Castle is like to doe still more mischiefe.

Since Sir *William Belford* his departure, there is intelligence that he hath taken some few Horse of the Cavaliers, billated at *Andever* in *Wiltshire*, from whence hee is gone further West to the *Vizes*.

The Lord Generalls Officers are now concluded of, and the

number

number agreed on, so that Sir *Thomas Middleton* with his Brigado and all the chiefe Officers under his Excellency are speedily to march towards the Enemy, so that *Winchester*, *Reading*, *Basing*, *Oxford*, and elsewhere are to be beseiged with all conveniency, God I beseech blesse their enterprises.

From Foraigne parts little or no news is flying upon the Royall Exchange and the Dutch are cautious to reveal any thing the comming of the Embassadors concerning their assistance to meditate betwene the King and the Parliament to end these Controversies, here is nothing spoken of, but rather a marriage intended, which is all touching this point.

The Lord Arch Bishop of *Canterbury* came this twelveth of *March* to the Lords House, and standing at the Barre, the Bishoppe read his owne answere to the Articles of Accusation, and whereas in one clause it was alleaged against him, that his Lordship endeavored to subvert the fundamentall Lawes of this Kingdome and to introduce Popery, his Lordship said that he would make it evidently appeare by many Knights, and Gentlemen now living that by his means he had converted two and twentie Papists to be good Protestants, one of which was the Duches of *Buckingham* and such like, but being demanded the names of such Gentlemen the Bishoppe stumbled at this so sudaine a demand, and craved further time to answere, the Councell standing by, said my Lords for the Bishops request to have longer time to answere, it is meerely to prolong the time, howsoever were it case of matter of Law it might be granted, but in case the fact is apparently proved, they desired their Lordshipps, that no further time might be spent herein, but to proceed to the examination of the rest of the witnesses, and afterwards to censure according to your Lordshipps

shipps pleasures, hereupon Master *Walker* followed the Bishoppe close upon another Article of his accusation, alleadging to the Lords, that he hath undergone the censure and imprisonment of the Star Chamber, to the great impoverishing of him, and that notwithstanding the said *Walker* was acquited by the Lords of the Privy Councell, yet the Bishop to augument his inveterate malice against the said Master *Walker*, told His Majesty that he was a wicked and stigmaticalleſt vi laine, or such like expressions, as lived upon the face of the earth, &c. these and such like matters and things alledged, the Bishoppe was in a sweate, and craved their Lordshippes leave that hee might withdraw himselfe for a while, which was granted, but the worst is behind, which I beleeve will shorten the Bishopps dayes (that is) that hee was able to doe asmuch by the vertue of his authority, as might be done by Act of Parliament, so disabling the whole Kingdome.

This is Licenced and entered according to Order.

16

Pr. Ruperts Forces routed neere Stratford upon Avon
Generall Kings Army dispersed by the Scots.
Himselfe wounded and fled to Yorke.
Banbury Castle besieged by Colonell Cromwell.

Numb. 42

Prince Rupert.

Mercurius Civicus.

LONDONS INTELLIGENCER.

OR,

Truth impartially related from thence to the whole Kingdome, to prevent mis-information.

From *Thursday March.* 7. to *Thursday March* 14. 1643.

THe proceedings of the Parliaments Forces in divers parts of the Kingdome, have this week succeeded so unexpectedly prosperous and victorious by the mercy of divine Providence, that had I not received a certaine information of the severall occurrences by divers Letters, and from the most credible and intelligent hands, I should not have imparted the subsequent relations,

tion. In the first place therefore (to begin with the most remote Countries) I shall present you with the most recent Intelligence from the Northerne parts, and particularly from the Scots Army; concerning whom, the last Information signified by Letters both from Hull and Sunderland to the Parliament on Tuesday last, March 12. is thus, That about ten dayes since, foure Brigades and a halfe of them, being in all about the number of one thousand foure hundred Foot and three thousand Horse passed over the River Tyne in that part of it which was most fordable, within sixteene miles of Newcastle; that they had possessed themselves of Sunderland and Durham (where Generall *Lesley* kept his head Quarters) as also of Coales at Lampson and Lumley worth twenty thousand pounds. It is further advertised by other Letters, That the Marquesse of Newcastle is retreated to Darneton, and that a party of Scots advanced from Sunderland and Durham March 3. last to Hartlepoole to pursue the flying popish Army, and had summoned the Governour thereof to surrender the Towne. There are also other Letters come to divers Citizens of note from Hull, dated March 8. which write, That the Scots had taken the Towne of Hartlepoole, and the Governour and Garison-Souldiers therein, by which meanes they may the easilier send provision of Coales and Salt from thence to London: That they had intelligence of another party of Scots, who had a skirmish with Generall *King*, as he was marching with 6000 men towards Yorke, whom they met neere Chesterin-street, in the Bishoprick of Durham, where they put his Forces to flight, took some prisoners, slew and wounded divers, and forced the rest (amongst whom Generall *King* was one, who (they say) is desperately wounded) to flie to Yorke.

It is also certainly advertised, That the valiant and faithfull Commander the Lord *Fairfax* hath taken Tadcaster-bridge within eight miles of Yorke, with three peeces of Ordnance, 14 barrels of Powder, and the whole Garrison which were there, and that he hath totally routed the enemies Forces in the East-riding.

That the ever renowned Colonell *Lambert* met with a Troop of the Marquesse of Newcastles horse betweene Bradford and Halifax in the West-riding, whom he so straitned, that he left them no meanes to escape, so that he surprized them all (except two who made an escape by swimming over a river:) This onely is to be observed

ſerved concerning this laſt ſucceſſe, that many of thoſe Troops (according to the ordinary number of the Marqueſſe of Newcaſtles Troops) contained not above 20 or 30 in a Troope, which gives me alſo advantage at this time to premiſe this Caution, That however for the honour and incouragement of our worthy Commanders, I ſhall not any wayes extenuate their victories and ſucceſſes; ſo out of love to Juſtice and verity, I ſhall bee careſull not to extend and increaſe them beyond the limits of Truth, ſo neere as I can poſſibly informe my ſelfe.

The next Intelligence we ſhall informe you of, is from *Newarke*, from whence it is certainly advertiſed by thoſe who came from Sir *John Meldrums* Quarters, March 10. laſt, That upon the Wedneſday before, Sir *John Meldrums* Forces, and the other Forces which were before it, drew up their great pieces, and made an onſet upon their Garriſon at Modſum-bridge, a place of great conſequence, being one of their maine Out-works over the river of Trent, and very much conducible to the taking of the Towne, which after a ſharpe encounter with 400 horſe and 200 foot which were drawne out of the Towne for their reliefe, they obtained with little loſſe, tooke ſevenſcore of the enmies foot priſoners, and forced the reſt (with their horſe) into the Towne. While they were performing this ſervice, Colonell *Lucas*, Colonell *Tucke*, and Colonell *Meale*, with ſome other of the Kings Commanders in thoſe parts, ſallied out of *Belvoyr* with about 1500 horſe and foot, with an intent to relieve the Towne, but were beaten backe with loſſe. The Parliaments Forces which are now before the Towne are neere 3000 horſe and foot; Sir *John Meldrum* and the Derbyſhire Forces are quartered on the North ſide; the Lincolnſhire Forces commanded by Colonell *King*, under the Earle of Manchester, the Norfolke and Suffolke Forces commanded by Colonell *Hobart*, and the Nottingham and Leiceſter Forces on the other ſide. They have gotten ſeverall other of the enemies Bridges (though not ſo conſiderable as the former) and are now come within Piſtoll ſhot of the Towne; they ſhot ſeverall Granadoes into the Towne, one whereof lighting in the Market place ſlew eight perſons, and another deſtroyed a part of a Malignant Inkeepers houſe in the Towne, Tueſday March 12. They intended reſolutely to ſtorme it, and it is verily conceived they are by this time Maſters of it; and then all Lincolnſhire will be ſoone cleared of

the Cavaliers. As for Bever Castle, it is already almost blockt up by the Nottinghamshire Forces, and the Well which heretofore afforded them water is stopped up, so that in all probability they will not hold out long after the taking of Newarke.

For the affaires in the Westerne parts, and particularly from Shropshire it is advertised by severall Letters thence, That Prince *Rupert*, *alias* the Duke of Cumberland, came before the Towne of Wem in Shropshire, whereof Colonell *Mitton* is Governour, and on Wednesday was seven night last summoned the Towne to be surrendred unto him, unto which the valiant Colonell returned answer, That he would keep the Towne for the King and Parliament: but if Prince *Rupert* would please to stay, hee would come forth and discourse with him about it, and thereupon began to draw forth his great pieces and his Souldiers out of the Towne, fell upon one of Prince *Ruperts* Quarters and tooke 16 Troopers prisoners; upon which Prince *Rupert* perceiving his gallant resolution to entertaine him, turned faces about and went backe towards Worcester. And by the relation of some credible persons who came that way and viewed his Forces when they were at Evesham, he hath not in all above 500 horse with him, which it seems was one reason (amongst others) he was unwilling to incounter with Colonell *Mitton*.

By Letters from *Southampton* we are informed, that on Friday last March 9. a party of the L. *Hoptons* horse came and faced the Towne, whereupon Col. *Norton* sent out some forces against them, who came and faced them whilst some of his Forces placed themselves in Ambuscadoes, and upon the ingagement of the rest came upon the reare of the Cavaliers, so they tooke about 80 Horse, and brought them into Southampton.

Out of *Hampshire* we heare, that Sir *Wil. Belfore* hath lately performed much good service against the enemy neere Basing house, where he defeated the forces which sallied out of the House, and fell upon his Infantry in their marching that way, his Horse wheeling about and comming in the reare of them, kild 20 on the place, routed 200. Horse, and tooke many prisoners, whereof some are men of quality. Since which he is advanced unto *Newbery* and hath taken possession of that Towne, the Cavaliers garrison having quitted it upon his approach, he is now 5000. strong in horse and foot.

Col. *Cromwell* hath also driven the *Banbury* Cavaliers into the Castle,

Caſtle, poſſeſſed himſelfe of the Towne, where he now remaines with a conſiderable number of horſe and foot, and hath ſent for ſome great Guns to *Warwicke* and *Northampton*, reſolving to enforce them to yeeld or batter the Caſtle about their eares.

All our forces we ſee are now in action in all parts of the Kingdome, ſo that by the aſſiſtance of Almighty God upon their courageous endeavours, this Summer may put a period to theſe inteſtine differences and uncivill civill warres. However let us not truſt too much to the arme of fleſh, but relie wholy upon the Almighty, who is alone the Lord of Hoſtes and giver of all victories.

On Tueſday laſt *March* 12. in the afternoone the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, according to a former Order, was brought from the Tower unto the Houſe of Peeres, to be tryed upon the Articles exhibited againſt him. The Charge againſt him was manniged by Serjeant *Wild*, and Mr. *Maynard*, both which did excellently ſet forth *the hainouſneſſe of his Delinquency, and the greatneſſe of the crimes of which he was accuſed in the Articles.* After which he deſired to ſpeake ſomething in his owne defence, which accordingly being permitted him, he made an excuſatory Speech, wherein amongſt other expreſſions (to uſe his owne phraſe) *he challenged all between Heaven and Hell, unleſſe they invented falſities and fictions, and forged untruths againſt him, to prove him guilty of doing ought againſt the true Proteſtant Religion profeſſed in the Church of England; declaring, that if he had deſired preferment for compliance with the Church of Rome* (which was one of the matters alledged againſt him) *he might have had more honour in forraigne parts then ever he was likely to obtaine here; and that it was no outward honours, but his conſcience that cauſed him to refuſe the Cardinals Hat, and other Honours offered unto him: further relating, that he could nominate no leſſe then 22 eminent men, that he had converted from Popery unto the Proteſtant Religion; and amongſt others he named the late Duke of Buckingham, and the Dutcheſſe of Buckingham, whom he procured firſt to goe to his Majeſties Chappell, (though, as he ſaid, ſhe was now unhappily revolted,) Dr. Chillingworth, (that Archhereticke, lately buried with his erroneous booke of Socinianiſme at Chichester,) one Mr. Berkett of Oxford, (whom his Lordſhip declared not to be Berkenhead, alias Mercurius Aulicus.) And concluded with a Challenge to any Divine in England to demonſtrate the like proofes of their endeavours.* But (as a reverend Miniſter told his Lordſhip at his

his going forth) there were those Ministers that could prove not only 22 but 200. yea some above 500 that were converted by their diligent and painfull labours in the worke of the ministery, and might have recalled many more, had they not been silenced, imprisoned, and persecuted by him, to the losse of many precious soules. After the ending of his Speech his further triall was referred to the next day.

The last weeke I made mention of Mr. *Hugh Peter* Minister of Gods word his comming into *London* from *Holland*, being necessitated to speake something in his behalfe by reason of the fictious and scandalous reports so confidently raised by Malignants against him in his absence; I shall now also, as a further vindication of that faithfull Pastor advertise you that the Parliament have honoured with much acceptance and thankes his indefatigable labours, adventures and travels, and testified it by a present taste of their true sence of all his endeavours for the publique, by bestowing upon him an 100 pound in monays, and a Libraty of bookes of equall worth; and manifested their resolution to take him into their further care, which as it is an encouragement to all that with true faithfulnesse and diligence serve the publique, that they shall not lose their labours in fruitlesse serving the Common-wealth and God therein: so it may fill those faces with shame, and stop those foule mouthes which have foamed out their venomous bitternesse against a man of such piety towards God, and merit of his owne native Countrey, and of all men. How ever when mens workes thus testifie of them in the gates, and in the high places of the City, the dog-like snarling of currish natures should not make them leave their way any more then the Moone her course, where dogges (because unreasonable) barke at her.

From the Narrow-seas we have this weeke certaine intelligence of this following passage, that on the 4. of *March* instant, the good ship called the *Hopewell*, comming from the Canaries, laden with Wines, under the command of Mr. *Thomas Caveman* Master of the ship, and not having above 12 Guns in her, and about 30 men, was bayled amayne for the King of *England* by a man of warre of *Bristol*, of about 20 Guns, a little off the point called the Lizard, she bore up with him and asked what his desire was? he answered amaine, For the King of *England*; she replied, that he might see he had taken in his Top-sayle in obedience. Then he demanded to see the Cor-

quet

quets of lading, and also required the Mr. of the said ship to come aboard, who denied, and bid him, if he would, come aboard of him; which he promised to doe, but would have the ship to lie upon the lee; upon which the *Bristol* ship ran up and gave the Canary ship a broad side about 10 Guns, which was answered with six; one of which shot him between winde and water, and kild many men, and made him pull off, and then he ran up againe with extreame threatning to board her, and upon that gave her another broad side. The Master of the Merchants ship in the interim of the falling off of the man of warre, the first time drew three more of his Guns of that side and laded them with small shot, and when the other ship had discharged, came up close and gave fire, kild most of the men on the decke, which stood very thicke; and so spoyled her, that she turned off, and was faine to lie by the lee, and could no longer follow her, so that the said Merchants ship is now come safely into the Thames with her lading.

For newes this weeke from forraigne parts, in reference to *England*, it stands thus: that the last Fast day kept at *Delph* in *Holland*, (the same day with ours here) the Prince Elector (*Charles*) subscribed the solemne League and Covenant, entred into by the Kingdoms of *England* and *Scotland*: and that many of that Court have done the like. That the Swedes have taken the King of *Denmarkes* Castle of *Elsenburge* which guards the Sound on *Norway* side; and that they have also taken two Danish ships with 1200 of the King of *Denmarkes* souldiers. But that which is of the greatest concernment, and most remarkable is, that the Swedes are sending an Embassie to the Parliament of *England*: wherein they desire they may associate themselves with the Kingdomes of *England* and *Scotland*, for the defence of the Protestant Religion, against the Popish party in any part of the World. Thus we see daily, that the Kingdome of Antichrist decays in most parts of the Earth so that we may the more firmly expect to see the most glorious times of the Church in this last age of the World.

On Wednesday last March 13. it was advertised by divers who came from Warwicke Fryday March 8. that the Earle of Manchesters Forces, and the rest which were designed for that service, went thence with the Ammunition for Glouceſter on the Tuesday night before, about ten of the clock at night, and that they carried a great

part

part of it upon horſes, and ſome the Troopers carried behind them, in caſe they ſhould have beene met withall by the Cavaliers, that they heard there that it was brought ſafe to Glouceſter, and that divers of the Kings Garriſons deſerted the Townes where they were quartered upon their approach.

Alſo we had this day intelligence from ſeverall good hands, That the ſaid Warwick Forces joyning with Colonell *Beare*, had met with Prince *Rupert* at his returne from Wem neere Stratford upon Avon, where they routed three Regiments of his horſe, and tooke and ſlew about 300 of them, and put Prince *Rupert* and the reſt to flight, and that he was forced to ſwim over a river, or otherwiſe he had been ſurpriſed.

We heard alſo this day that Sir *John Meldrum* and the Lincolnſhire Forces had taken Newarke, but in regard he intended not to ſtorme it till Tueſday laſt (as is before mentioned) wee can give no credit to it.

The Aſſembly of Divines lately ſent a Letter written in Latine, to the Divines of *Holland* and *Zealand*, concerning their proceedings in matters of Religion; of which they have now received an anſwer in Latine: both which are tranſlated into Engliſh, and will ſhortly be publiſhed in print.

This preſent Wedneſday *March* 13. the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* was againe brought unto the barre of the Lords houſe about 8. of the clocke in the morning, Upon his comming Mr. *Maynard* charged him with the three firſt Articles, which he proved by ſeverall witneſſes and teſtimonies; whereunto the Archbiſhop made his defence: and afterwards, according to the liberty reſerved to the houſe of Commons by the ſaid Articles and their priviledges, reply was made unto them, and two of the Articles fully diſpatched. And his further tryall upon the following Articles are deferred till Saturday morning next at 8 of the clocke.

Printed according to Order.

London, Printed for Thomas Bates, and J. W. J. 1643.

The Recantation of *Mercurius Aulicus*,

OR

March: 14 *Berkinheads* Complaint. 1643.

IT is not unknown to the world what weekly bickerings there have been, and ſtill are, betweene theſe Grand Competitors in Wit, the *Spie*, *Britannicus*, and *Aulicus*. This latter had its beginning at the Court in *Oxford*, and from thence ſtill receives its ſuſtenance, to the great expence of Univerſity Invention: For they ſay there is deepe Exciſe put upon all Braines that pretend in the leaſt wiſe to Wit, and that the Returnes of all Jeſts, halfe-jeſts, quarter-jeſts, and Quibbles, happening within the limits of the Camp, Court, or the Taverns, that may any waies twitch the Round-heads, are once a week made upon juſt account, into *Berkinheads* Office, towards the maintenance of this ſame *Aulicus*. Thus farre doe the Schollars contribute. But then beſides this, there is a weekly contribution from the Courtiers, conſiſting of ſeverall confuſed Relations concerning State-affaires, Victories, proſperous proceedings of their Armies abroad, and other ſtrange *Chimera's* that never were in being, nor ſo much as in likelihood of being: And theſe, to make *Aulicus* a plauſible creature of a penny price, are brought in by that State-Crittick, *George Digby*, who is thus farre beholding to the old Fox, his father, that he is a Spaniard both by birth and breeding: Fellow-helpers in this Worke, are *Mortimer* of Yarmouth, fat *Endymion* the Court-beeger, the two Grand Caterpillars of Rome, *Reade* and *Aſhton*, the whole rabble of Jeſuites, and Jeſuited Favorites, a Century of Spaniſh, a Millenary of Iriſh, a Covey of French, a Can-

ton of Switzers, and Walloones, a whole Pedegree of Welsh-Pagan-Politicians, and no lesse then a Purgatory-full of Popish Athiests, and Ambitious Prelates, Deanes, Arch-deacons, Court-Chaplaines, &c. Here let us breathe a while, and pauze. What a strange, monstrous extract must this *Aulicus* be, out of so many mixtures! And yet beleeve me, it is the very Darling of the Court, they prefer it before the Bible: but not without some reason I warrant you. Because it serves their turne better, in being more advantagious to their cause than that can be. For at London it is the Malignants Creed. In the Countrey it deludes the people sufficiently, and all slanders cast upon the Parliament, and Parliamentary proceedings passe there for currant truths. And this is the good service that *Aulicus* hath done the adverse party: Nay, this Court-Pamphlet was growne into such reputation, that what scurrility soever was therein broached, was presently cryed up for excellent wit, jerking stuffe, all lies, scandals, worthlesse, and opprobrious calumnies against the Republicke, stood as so many undeniable arguments in the capacity of weaker judgements. But in processe of time, after that *Aulicus* had had his full swinge, uncontrolled by those who thought innocency and truth a sufficient guard against calumny, and falshood, it was at last thought convenient to silence that lying Oracle, by way of contradiction, though his owne very relations might have saved that labour, if all men could equally discerne. Hereupon *Mercurius Britannicus* stept into the world, and after him the *Spie*, undertaking that daring Champion of the Cavaliers in that way wherein they had so long domineerd; and hath of late carried themselves so gallantly, and shown themselves so prevailing against their Enemy, that they appeare to be truely Mercuriall, exact Candidates of Wit, *Aulicus* but a meere pretender.

To

To this truth the very conſcience of *Aulicus* himſelfe, and his beſt friends do beare witneſſe, and therefore languiſhing under the burthen of powerfull Pens, ſo skilfully handled by theſe renowned Antagoniſts, he hath of late ſummoned all the wormatick wits in *Oxford*, whoſe brains for this twelve moneths have had no other pickle but bad Sacke, ſmall Beere, Melancholy, and Rhume, to make their perſonall appearance before him: As alſo all his under-officers, Court-Scouts, and Impes of Intelligence; who being all met, and ſeated in a full Conſiſtory, *Exit Ridulus Mus*, He ſhooke his eares, and ſtanding forth in the midſt, opened his mouth, and ſaid, as followeth;

The Speech of Aulicus.

It grieves me (my beloved friends and brethren of the learned Corporation) that I have lived to ſee this day, wherein ſo fatall a neceſſity hath at this time forced me to aſſemble you. I little thought ever to have vented my Oratory to ſuch perſons, in ſuch a manner, to ſuch an end, whereas the ſubject of my preſent diſcourſe muſt in the very mentioning condemne all our former triumphs to be grounded upon too-much weakneſſe; You well know with what alacrity, with what eagerneſſe you formerly brought in, and I readily compoſed the matter of that illuſtrious ſtratagem of our braines, under the name of *Mercurius Aulicus*. You know for a long time what rare effects it had to our advantage, with what high eſteeme, with what more then ordinary expectation the whole Kindome travailed every weeke for the delivery of our Preſſe. We then were a terrour, not onely to the ſtubborne Sticklers in the City, but to their Confederates alſo in the Countrey, and by vertue of this our Grand Maſter-peece had well-nigh deluded the whole Kingdome into our party.

But now the Case is altered, we have held out as long as we could, The necke of our Designe is broken, together with our credit, the Round-heads have gotten this advantage over us in the mindes of men, to be rather believed; and our best reports, even those which come neerest truth, are suspected for no other reason, but because they are ours, so that the Proverbe is verified upon us; *It were as good to be hanged, as have an ill name.* And is it not great pitty, that we were not a little more wary, and cautious in our Stories? That we ran so blindfold headlong to over-shoot the truth? First in many petty Skirmishes, then in the businesse of *Edge-Hill*, one while telling of *Newcastles* miracles in the North, another while prodigious stories of the West, and of late at *Newberry*, facing our ill fortune with the title of victory, and thereupon were overtaken with that fault we formerly too often fathered upon the City, *viz.* Publike Thanksgivings, delusive both to God and Men. From these errours our Enemies have gotten no small oddes against us, but have taken occasion to insinuate into the mindes of men the improbability of our present and future Narratives, from the falsity of the former. Besides, there are other matters wherein now they out-strip us, as Books satisfactory to the consciences of men, discovering unto them the hidden underminings of secret plotters to ruin both Church and State: One of which comes abroad with the down-right title of plaine *English*. Who would think they durst be so bold as to speak plaine *English*? Another under the name of the *English* Pope, and another tels as plainly of the Mystery of Iniquity yet working in the Kingdomes of *England* and *Ireland*: To these you may adde the discoveries of Master *Prynne*, who reveales most sincerely all the truth. These things, as long as we could perswade people they were otherwise, did us no hurt, and were not any prejudice at all to our proceedings,

dings, and boastings; but now that these men have prevailed so farre as to make people see and beleeve, and not staying there, to enter into a Solemne League and Covenant, so that no hope is left of their returne to us, it is no wonder if I be put beside my wonted Joviall Cue of writing, and am become the contempt and scorne of the *Spie* and *Britannicus*, the *London* Wits, who now triumphs over us in high termes; setting out in a shamefull page all private concernments of particular persons in Court, severely lashing our greatest Favourites, with licenced and uncontroulable Pens, disgracing the Prelacy, striking at the root of University ambition, wherein is included every mans hope of aspiring; And which most of all sets the hearts of the people against us, they concludes us, and all our Councels, and Designes, as Popish, and tyrannicall. What then remaines, my beloved Associates, to be next thought of by us, but a timely prevention of those ill consequences to our fame, & reputation, which may happen by the bitternes of the *Spie*, and the weekly licentiousnes of the impartiall, biting *Britannicus*? But what meanes shall we use to stop their mouths? Force, we see, can do little against them, or theirs; this we have of late found true by sad experience. Bribery perhaps, if we were so well furnished as to part with any thing from our selves, might best worke upon them. A third way is, and that is to leave off weekly writing, but then we shall not be answerable to the expectation of our friends abroad, who desire information of the carriage of our Affaires; then the best way is still to hold up our *Aulicus* with plain Intelligence, and leave off throwing Granadoes of Wit to raise cumbustion in the City, and blast the Parliament; The last remedy is, to yeeld, and supplicate, and then if they be ingenuous Enemies, they will prosecute no farther, but sit down contented with the conquest. If any here present be unwilling to this latter motion, for my owne part I shall resigne my

title and taske unto him, rather then proceed in this way to our owne dammage, and disadvantage, where the Enemy hath so much ground to expatiate. And therefore, my friends *Academicall*, and *Aulicall*; I desire you to forbeare bringing hither any more Popguns, and conceited Squibs, the meere froth of sick brains, for the furnishing any more *Mercuries*, for I am resolved by the next opportunity to declare my selfe in a letter Supplicatory to the *Spie* and *Britannicus*, that they would be pleased to speake nothing but Intelligence, and I will promise them faithfully to make amends for what is past by writing hereafter nothing but truth; This way I conceive best for our credit, and this is my resolution.

A Letter Supplicatory in Verse, sent from *Mercurius Aulicus*, to the Renowned Wits of *London*, the *Spie* and *Mercurius Britannicus*.

PArdon, Great Wits, if I now at this time
Do penance, for my former Prose, in Rime.
Expect not here to find those lofty straines,
Which richest Sacke bestowes on wealthy braines;
For we are poore, and dull, and dabble here,
And deale in nothing beyond Hops, or Beere.
Heare then, you great Monopolists of wit,
Receive my humble suit, and ponder it,
Accept this willing tribute to your Name,
A borrowed Sparke from *Robin Wisdoms* flame.
Know, if that *Aulicus* can give content
For former wrongs, in being penitent,
I send these lines to witnesse unto all,
My sorrow for offences great and small.

I crosse

I croſſe the Cudgels now, and needs muſt yeeld,
Unto ſuch Potent Enemies the field,
When Truth and Wit, do both together meet,
And ſtrive to make the Victory complete.
I could confeſſe, if 'twere not ſhame to write,
My ſelfe a Convert, and your Proſelyte:
Or were I ſure the people ſhould not know
That ever *Aulicus* was brought thus low,
To your ingenuous Selves I would be free,
And tell a ſtory of our miſery.
But leaſt this letter ſhould perchance be view'd,
And laught, and ſcoft at by the Multitude,
I will forbeare, ſuppoſing you as well
As we our ſelves, can our miſ-fortunes tell.
My ſuit good *Spie* is, when thou doſt indite
Intelligence hereafter, do not bite
With ſuch remorſeleſſe words; for in good ſooth
Thou mak'ſt us mad, There's venome in thy tooth.
Deſire *Britannicus* to reſt content
And ſpare us, then wee'll confeſſe a Parliament.
Me thinks Intelligence ſhould be enough
To fill a ſheet, without Satyricke ſtuffe,
If not, Ile teach thee th' Art of foyſting in
Reports, and never thinke them falſe, or ſin:
Which tricke ſhall be connived at by me,
If I may have like kindneſſe back from thee.
O good Sir do; this way will be the beſt
To ſatisfie the Court, and make the reſt
Your friends in time. My Lord of *Yarmouth* once
Swore faire, that for his Grandſires Marrow-bones,
They never ſhould ſtick in his ſtomack more,
If you would quiet be, and now give o're.
Beſides, He, and the Reſt, will weekly give
A Noble penſion, that your Wits may live

In

In silence: The Bishops have decreed to pawne,
Rather than thou shouldest want, their very Lawne,
Cassocks, Copes, Tippets, Cowles; and to pull downe
The very Organs, all about the towne.
It is but reason now, that thou should'st grant
Us this request, when we do thus recant:
Farewell Renowned Wits. Now let us see
Your pitty is beyond our destiny.

Given under my hand and Seale at Oxford.

FINIS.

Printed according to Order for *I. F.*

18

Christs Submission TO HIS FATHERS WILL.

Set forth
In a SERMON Preached at *Thrapston* in *Northampton-shire*.

By NICOLAS ESTWICK B. D. Rector of *Warkton* in *Northampton-shire*.

Imprimatur
Joseph Caryl.

March. 14th. LONDON, 1643
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TO THE CHRISTIAN READER.

Christian Reader:

BY Gods providence We are reserved to sad and perilous times, which some of Gods servants have foreseene and given us warning of them. Mr Hildersam (to name no more) a godly, painfull and learned Minister, now with God, applies that speech of the Prophet Jeremy to our daies, Woe unto us for the day goeth away, for the shadows of the evening are stretched out: And he adds, We in England, and if ever people in the world, have cause to looke for evill and troublesome times; our skie is now red and lowring, and he is a fearfull sleepie and secure hypocrite, that doth not expect some great storme and tempest: When I read this passage, out of love to my country, I prayed to God that he might proove a false Prophet, and I reasoned thus within my selfe; true, our sinnes are not tongue-tyed, but they cry aloud to the righteous Judge for vengeance; yet God is a free Agent and a mercifull Father; and We are ignorant of the times of Gods visitation, for We know not When the sinnes of a Nation are ripe for Gods sickle, nor Whither it Will please the Lord to suffer the tares to grow up With, and for the sake of the good corne; and Whither the prayers of his faithfull servants, Which stand in the gap may not keepe off the judgements from us: But in vaine it Was to flatter our selves With hopes of impunity. This skilfull Workeman, observing the holy Scriptures, and

Jer. 6. 4.

Hilder. Serm. 5. in Psal. 51.

Gods dealing with his owne children in covenant with him in former times, could rationally conclude that some great evill was approaching towards us: There is, I confesse, a great difference betwixt Gods servants in these dayes, and the Prophets of old, as Luther *hath wisely observed, for these holy men had certain revelations of certain punishments to be inflicted on certaine persons at a certaine time, but we only in generall can threaten sinners, nor have we a certaine revelation whither they shall be punished by the* Turke *or any other plague.*

Luther Prefat. in Hos. Proph.

And as Gods servants on earth, so his tokens from heaven prognosticated evill daies; these are as smoake which are the fore-runners of the fire ready to flame out; I will record but one instance, the Lord encloased us all in a dreadfull tent, directly over our heads, and compassed us in round with pillars of terrible darknesse, fire and blood, a yeare before that unparalled Gun-powder-treason, and at the instant detection thereof strange lights and flashings were seen, so that the heavens seemed to burne over us; these were faire warnings to all for good, if men had grace to make good use of these warnings. Tertullian *tels us, that strange fires hung over the wals of* Carthage ----And these are the signes of Gods wrath at hand, which we must, by what meanes we can publish, declare and deprecate as those devout Jewes did in the booke of the *Maccabees*, and they which expound them in another sense shall in time *(saith the Father)* feele his supreme and universall wrath. *These strange and fierie impressions in the aire should have frighted us out of our security and fiery lusts.*

Tertull. ad Scapulam.

2 Mac. 5. 2, 3, 4

Nor have we only heard that God was angry with us, and seen the smoake, a signe of his wrath kindling against us, but we have seen and felt the flames therof in many particulars.

Anno Christi 1607. D. Benef. 20. le. on Amos. M. Brinsley 3. par. of the true watch, c. 3.

1. *The Lord caused the swelling waters of the Seas to breake into the firme land in divers parts of this Realme, and then many perished in six and twenty Parishes in* Monmouth-shiere *alone. He taught us hereby, that if he had enlarged the commission of the Waters, we should all have perished; This was a judgement on the borders of our kingdome, and the losse of our brethren was justly a terrour to us all: because Gods feare, the bancke which would have stopped the inundation of sinne, was broken downe, God sent an extraordinary inundations of Waters.*

2. *To this I may adde, that the heavens have wept over us, and through that unseasonable raine left an evident print of Gods displeasure*

in

to be remembred (saith mine Authour) almost in every bit of bread; And hence the earth like Ægypt, when Nilus over-flowes too much, being surcharged with moisture, was not able to yeeld its wonted fruitfulnesse; this judgement pinched especially the poore people; the skins of many of them were, if not blacke like an oven, yet pale and withered, because of the terrible famine; because we would not weepe for our sins, the heavens did weepe over our heads, and there was want of the food of our bodies, because we regarded not the food of our soules. Lamen 5.10.

3. The Lord sent an extreame frosty winter, and smote the fish in the waters, the fowles of the air, our sweet and pleasant flowers, and threatned the famishing of our cattell: Was God angry with these creatures? No verily, not with them, but with man, and smote them for the sin of man, and in them he read us a lecture of his displeasure towards us, because we loved these things too much, the Lord deprived us of them, and convinced us of our hard and frozen hearts by the frozen season. Hab.3.8.

4. Sometimes the Lord hath made our heavens as brasse, and in stead of fruitfull clouds drawne up by the Sunne, we had clouds of dust raised by the feet of men and beasts, whereby our grasse was withered, our fruits parched with extreme heat and great drought; This yeare deserved a name equivalent to that in France, 1539. the yeare of rosted vines; because our hearts were drie and barren, the Lord to mind us hereof sent dry and barren weather. Deut 28.23. Serres French histor. l. 1. p. 521.

5. Hath not God proclaimed his wrath, as it were, by sound of trumpt, and shot his Arrowes of the plague and infectious diseases which have roved up and downe many yeares together to shoot at Cities and villages, which hath killed many thousands of our brethren and sisters? A great and continued plague, argues a great and continued wrath: God sends unusuall diseases on our bodies, for our refusing the health of our soules.

6. Nor have we only at home felt the wrath of God heavie upon us, but his heavie hand hath followed us abroad into forraigne Nations: Gods blessing hath not gone along of late yeares with our undertakings: because we relied not on the Lord, but on the arme of flesh, our valiant souldiers, our strong Ships: Therefore the Lord hath frustrated all our hopes of our warlike expeditions, and blasted all our chargeable preparations, which have been without benefit to our kingdome, and some of them.

them to our disgrace in the sight of strangers: O Lord What shall we say when England turneth their backs before their enemies.

Josh 7.8.

7. But evident it is that no warnings from heaven or earth, no words, threats, judgements or mercies which we abundantly enjoyed did thoroughly reforme us, and therefore the Lord hath drawn out of the treasures of his wrath, a sharpe and a terrible Sword, and hath justly plagued us with warre, for refusing the peace of our soules; this is Gods most dreadfull judgement, and hath many great evils waiting on it or following it at the heeles, and in divers circumstances is most terrible to us. First, because it is an unnaturall warre; English men doe not fight against strangers, but Egyptian-like they sheath their Swords one in the bowels of another. 2. Nor is this warre limited to a corner or part of the kingdome, but this fire flames over all the kingdome, and all mens hands doe kindle this fire. 3. Neither are they all which live together unanimous in heart one way, nay I thinke I shall not erre by saying there is not a City or Village, nor scarce a numerous family which is not divided in it selfe; and this is a griefe that a man must be forced to strengthen their hands which fight, as he supposeth, for a bad cause, and to these burthens, as the case stands, he may with a good conscience submit his shoulders. This puts me in mind of the factions, which openly appeared in the daies of Frederick the second, There was no Towne in *Italy* (saith mine Authour) without this division: Some say this Emperour called the faction which adhered to the Pope in the Germane tongue, Guelphes, that is Wolves, and those that stood for him be called Gibellines, i. two wals, because he leaned on them as an house doth upon two strong wals.

1. Isa 19.2.

2.

3.

4.

Crispine the Estate of the Church. Life of Henry 2.

I forbeare to mention those evils which are in the eyes of every simple man, but my soule grieveth for these particulars.

1. First, because I cannot see that in the heat of this flame we have turned to our God; we may observe, that sinners are no changlings: they walk on still in those crooked waies which are without all controversie the waies of death.

2. I doe observe that difference of opinion hath begot a strange alienation of affection, and made a kind of separation betwixt loving friends and godly Christians.

3. Hence are vented rash and impious censures, and not seldome unjust imputations to blast their credit, which are not of their judgment and from which evils they are as free as they themselves are.

4. And

4. *And sometimes out of misguided zeale there are false and treacherous informations against them to the powers, whereby they which fain would live peaceably in the land are endangered to be molested, as touching their persons, and to be ruined in their estates, and there will not be wanting some which will justifie them, and the reason is only this. Such men will not goe along with them in their cause. I remember a Story which by changing the termes is appliable to both sides.* Boniface 8. *on* Ashwednesday *did not cast ashes on the head, as the manner was and is among the Papists, of* Porchetas Arch-bishop *of* Genoa, *but he threw them into his eyes, and instead of saying,* Remember O man that thou art ashes, and shalt be turned into ashes, *said,* Remember O man that thou art a Gibelline, and with the Gibellines shalt be turned into ashes: *And not long after this contumely and despite done unto him deprived him of his Bishoprick.* *Centur. Magd. 13. Cent. c. 7.*

I doe from the bottome of my heart wish that the Lord would say to us as sometimes he did to Ephraim: Is *England* my deare sonne? Is he a pleasant child? Since I spake against *England,* I doe earnestly remember *England* still; therefore my bowels are troubled for *England,* I will surely have mercy upon *England*: *But I greatly feare when I looke upon the practises and courses of men, that the hands of the Lord will be stretched out still against us, and that this devouring Sword will not yet be put up into the scabbard.* Ier. 31. 20.

In these sad times give me leave to invite you to put in practise especially these duties.

1. *Labour soundly to informe your judgements, and use such helps which may satisfie your consciences, and then without hopes or feares imbrace that side which you have apprehended to be right: For what will it avail you to have quietnesse abroad and to raise up warrs at home in your owne bosomes? What to be commended of all men, yea of truly gracious, and to be condemned by your owne hearts? And then albeit you should erre, your errour simply as an errour would not be a damning errour, and then you should not hang in suspence and change this way and that way according to the various successe of warre, but you would alwaies be the same, though you were sure your cause should lie in the dust. You will resolve rather to suffer for your consciences; then you will deny the truth, and actively helpe forward the contrary prevailing party.*

2. *Examine your hearts sincerely by the Scriptures in the presence*

of

of God, and repent of all your knowne sinnes, and then albeit you should heare of no peace in England, you shall have peace with God which is best of all.

3. Pray affectionately for the peace of England. I am sure we have a rule for this: You will say an honourable warre is better then a dishonourable peace; be it so, pray then that we may have peace upon such termes, that it may be safe for our Church and State, and honourable for the King and Parliament.

4. Live by faith, rely on the never failing promises of God; then may you lift up your heads in the worst times, and being armed with this shield, no evils shall be able to conquer, no not to hurt you; but in greatest straits, you may with David comfort your selves in the Lord your God.

Hab. 2.4.

1 Sam. 30.6.

5. Learne to submit to Gods holy will in all judgements, whither they be particular or generall. To help you to conform to Gods will I have published this short Treatise, which I composed on a very sad occasion, which I will be bold to relate unto you.

It pleased God two yeares since and upward, to take to his mercy my eldest daughter; this cup was the bittrest (I speake of particular afflictions) which was since my being, put into my hands to drinke: I loved my daughter too much, and therefore I grieved too much for her death; my judgement informed me that I had no reason to mourne so long and so much as I did for her, but the strength of mine affection to her did by fits and for a time captive the use of my judgement. Yet I had cause to love her very much; for she was of a sweet and loving disposition, very apt to learne any thing that she was put to learne; She was a dutifull and obedient, and which is best of all, a gracious child, and to speake a great deale in a few words, she, in the space of eighteen years, which was the short terme of her life, did not much or often displease me. One thing I cannot forbeare to mention, She was very carefull to keep holy the Lords day, the whole day, and I do professe that I never did know any of her age and Sex that excelled her in this particular. It hath bin my constant course to call my Family to a reckoning touching the Sermons which they heard on that day. On a time my reverend friend Mr Mede was at my house, and when the Repetition, a Psalm and prayer were ended, he openly blamed me for requiring so much of my daughter, then being about 12. years old: but he was deceived; there was no cause for me to set her a taske: Such was her

willing-

willingnesse, chearfulnesse, and unwearied diligence, that she would rehearse more then in reason could be required of her, and as she grew up, so her profiting in the best things did evidently appeare, insomuch that some yeares before her death, she did not onely helpe the Family by reading the fore-noone Sermon after dinner, and at the phrase was by teaching one maid at least, but she would repeate the heads and summe of one of my Sermons with that grace of speech and understanding that I admired her, and for her commendable qualities did often blesse God, as Leonides did for his Origen, for making me so happy a Father of so good a child. A great helpe to her was this, she had learned Catechismes. Euseb. Eccles. Hist. l. 6. c. 2.

These things have I written, that I might have a ground to put the Governours of Families in mind of their duties, and I doe intreate them all which shall reade these rude lines, that they would be carefull in their own persons to keepe holy the Lords day, and doe their utmost that their children and servants doe keepe it holy too; that they would examine them, What they have profited by the Sermons which they heard on that day; And lastly instruct them in the grounds of Christian Religion, they then should find by Gods blessing the fruit hereof would be sweet and profitable both for themselves and theirs. Consider advisedly what a godly and excellent Preacher saith, If people understood the Lords prayer, the ten Commandements, and the Creed, they would learne more, I speake by tryall, saith mine Authour, in a moneth then they have gathered in twenty years. 1. 2. 3. 4. Henry Smith Art of learning, p. 298.

When I was in my mourning condition for my daughter, I used the best meanes I could to asswage my griefe; and with other helps I often thought upon the words of our Saviour in his bitter agony, Not my will, but thy will be done, which did wonderfully support me, I meditated and penned a Sermon on that Text, which I preached at Thrapston Lecture in Northampton-shire more then two years since; My sorrow was lately renewed by the death of a precious Woman Mrs East a Londiner; a kinde and loving daughter in law she was to me; she was devout and religious; she spent much time in prayer and reading privately; in company her discourse was not vain, but fruitfull and savoury for the good of the soule; she walked with God her selfe, and stirred up others to leade a godly and righteous life: I reflecting on the premisses, and considering the personall crosses, which all men are to undergoe, and chiefly the common calamities of the time. I

was willing to put that Sermon in print, thus conceiving that as I my selfe found good by the matter of it, as I was penning it, and have reason to believe that some Auditours received good by it, when they heard it preached, so my hopes are that some faithfull soules, and distressed Christians will receive some good by reading it.

This doore you will say is too big for a little house, a long Epistle suites not well with a short Discourse, I answer, my heart herein I know, is approved of my God, and my desire to promote the good of others will be I hope my sufficient excuse to the Readers, which that they may effectually finde by it, and the Sermon it selfe, the blessing of God goe along with them both, for the benefit of all those which shall reade them. So affectionately prayeth,

An unworthy Servant of Jesus Christ

Nicolas Estwick.

Christs

Christs Submission TO HIS FATHERS WILL.

LUKE 22. 42.

Nevertheleſſe not my will but thine be done.

ALl Gods works are juſtly to be admired, but above them all the worke of our redemption by Ieſus Chriſt is wonderfull: herein, as in no other for degree, the wiſdome, the love and the mercy of God are manifeſted; and his hatred and deteſtation of ſinne are clearly revealed, which in regard of his poſitive decree could not be removed, but by the full ſatisfaction of his owne deareſt ſonne, who for our ſakes like the ſhadow in the diall of *Ahaz*, went back and abaſed himſelfe by taking our nature into the unity of his perſon, that we might be reconciled to God: Nor did he come into the world as *Adam* in perfect ſtrength and beauty, but in the fleſh of a poore babe and a crying infant, he was *coinfantiatus homini*, as S. *Irenæus* ſpeaks elegantly, in ſtead of a Cradle of Ivory, he was laid in a manger, and for robes of eſtate, he was ſwadled in poore clouts. What would we thinke if a great King for the good of his Subjects ſhould become a beggar? But it is a greater wonder that the Sonne of God ſhould take our nature on him, and then eſpecially when we were traitors to God: For betwixt a King and the meaneſt

Irenæus adverſ. hæreſ. l. 4 c. 75.

meaneſt Subject there is ſome proportion, but betwixt the Sonne of God which is infinite, and that which is finite, Philoſophers ſay there is none; A prevalent Oratour he ſhould be accounted which could intreat a King of the leaſt Iland in the world to leave the glory of his kingdome and to exchange it for a baſe condition, and yet the Lord our God hath changed his higheſt eſtate in heaven with the baſeſt here on earth; the greateſt glory with the greateſt infamy, the place which hath ſuperiority over all, with that which is to ſerve all. Follow him further and you ſhall find him hungry and thirſty, faint and weary: You ſhall ſee him ſweat drops of bloud, his fleſh torne and rent for us, and you ſhall heare him crying out in the anguiſh of his Spirit, *My God, my God why haſt thou forſaken me?*

Looke upon our Saviour Chriſt, and we can never ſufficiently wonder at this, that he which creates all things, ſhould be made a creature; he who was God the Word, ſhould not be able to ſpeake a word; that he who was the life of Angels ſhould ſtand in need of milk to preſerve his life; that he which gives ſtrength to all things ſhould become weake himſelfe: That he which ſupports the whole world, ſhould lie in his mothers lap, and hang upon his mothers breſt, that he which watcheth for us continually, yet ſhould himſelfe ſtand in need of ſleepe: a wonder it is that he ſhould be ſubject to thee, to whom the moſt glorious Angels are ſubject, that he ſhould be fed with bread that feedes all: That his actions ſhould be ſearched unto, who is the ſearcher of all hearts: An admirable thing that he who was the impaſſible God ſhould voluntarily ſubmit himſelfe to torments, that he which gives life ſhould looſe his life, and that the reſurrection of all men ſhould be buried; in this glaſſe of our Saviour we may ſee and runners may reade how diſpleaſing to God ſin is.

Auſter. in Apocal. Centur. 10. c. 4.

Petr. Chryſolog. Ser. 70.

1. If we conſider how dearly his Father loved him.

2. And how excellent his Perſon was, the aſtoniſhment of Angels.

3. And how bitter his paſſion was; no ſuffering like to his.

4. And how holy he was in his nature, and in all his actions. God ſtrikes to death our ſinnes thorough the body and the ſoule of his own Sonne, who gave himſelfe a ranſome to purchaſe the freedome of ſlaves, yea of enemies: Wonder at this worke O earth,

earth, and be amazed at it O ye heavens, behold a true ballance to weigh sin in this ballance.

This is my preface which agrees well to the Story in hand, I will now by the assistance of our good God, and your accustomed patience, enter upon the text, the summe whereof is nothing else, but our Saviour Christs renouncing his own will, and submitting to Gods will.

First I will speake of the meaning of the words.

1. *Not my will*] A doubt I know will arise in your minds, how Christ should pray for that, and will that, which is not agreeable to the will of his Father? *Not my Will.*

Touching the prayer of Christ, I answer that he was heard in regard of the conditions of his prayer, *Father if it be possible let this cup passe, and if it be thy will*; but he was not heard in regard of his prayer absolutely considered, without limitations; and touching the will of Christ, this is not meant of the will of Christ as God, for so it is all one with the will of his Father, but it is meant of the will of Christ as man: The Schoole-men have a fit distinction to resolve this scruple: there is, *voluntas rationis*, and *voluntas sensualitatis*, conceive the meaning thus: Our Saviour Christ when he considered death, as simply death, and accompanied with the wrath of God, so did he with a sudden wish of humane harmelesse infirmity shun it; but when he considered death advisedly with the concurrent circumstances, as willed of God, and as the price of the redemption for the elect, so did grace subordinate nature to it selfe instantly, as to a greater good; it is good for the creature to live, nature teacheth this principle; but it is better to obey Gods will by suffering according to his will: this is *voluntas rationis*, and thus did he immediately subject his humane affection, to the divine disposition, saying, *Not my will, but thy will be done.* *Lombar. lib. 3. Sent. dist. 17.*

For the better understanding of Gods will, it will not be amisse to premise and unfold the distinction of the will of God which is so triviall in the Schools. *Thy will.*

There is *voluntas beneplaciti*, or εὐδοκία, the will of Gods good pleasure, the inward decree of Gods will, it signifies not alwaies Gods love: for Gods will was to reprobate some men, and to hide the mysteries of the Gospell from them, but it notes out the *Walæus contra Corvinum, p. 144.* Mat. 11. 26.

rectitude of his counsell : and there is also, *voluntas signi*, the will of the signe ; the first is properly Gods will alwaies. The second is his will metaphorically ; but when it fals in with the will of Gods good pleasure, and it is ascribed to God for no other end, but even *humanum dicere*, for our infirmity : God speaks with us in our owne language and termes, to worke the better on us ; because those actions which proceeding from us are signes indeed, that we doe truely will such actions, such things, therefore are they said by a Metaphor or borrowed terme to be also the will of God, when all of them, to speake properly, are not Gods will.

Now this will of the signe is a temporall action, or thing which in us usually is a signe, token or argument that we doe will that which hath this signe attending it.

The Schoole-men commonly doe reckon up five, and some others which have more narrowly sifted the point have added a sixth.

1. First, commanding a thing to be done ; when a Master commands his servant, this is a signe that his Masters will is that such a service should be done.

2. Secondly, 'tis a signe also of his will when he gives advice and counsell, yea and perswades to doe a thing by vveighty reasons.

3. Thirdly, forbidding a thing to be done and using motives against the doing of it. All these three are usually done by Ministers in the Lords name to all their charge : and yet in regard of God we cannot inferre from hence that God doth will them in truth to every particular person in our Congregations. True it is that if a reprobate should doe that necessary duty as he ought, to which he is exhorted, and shun those sinnes, because they offend a gracious God, from which he is dehorted, this obedience would be acceptable to God and rewarded too ; this for distinction sake, Divines call εὐαρεστον and not εὐδοκία. For whatsoever God wils thus, that shall be most certainly effected ; is not our God in heaven, and doth he not whatsoever he will ? His will is infinite and cannot be over-mastered, nor this resisted.

Object. *Sol.*

4. Fourthly, our permitting sinne and suffering it to be done, when we could hinder it, is a signe that vve doe vvill and like sin, and

and ſinnes ſo permitted by us ſhall be added to our owne ſcore of ſins, but it is not ſo in God, vvho is not bound to hinder ſin, and though his vvill be to permit it, yet doth his vvill loath and hate ſin committed.

5. *Eſtius* addes a previous diſpoſition and preparation to doe a thing, vvhich is a fore-running ſigne that we will do it. To draw a ſword againſt an enemy is a ſigne that we will fight, that *Abraham* ſtretched out his hand, was a ſigne that he truly intended to kill his ſonne *Iſaac*, we commonly ſay, ſuch a man will decay, ſuch a houſe will fall, becauſe they are in the next diſpoſition and preparation to decay and fall; thus it is with men; but we cannot alwaies argue from ſuch fore-going ſignes, that Gods will was truly to effect what was ſignified by them; This is cleare in the caſe of the *Iſraelites* and *Ninivites*, whom the Lord threatned to deſtroy, we may rather conclude as St *Chryſoſtome* doth excellently ſpeake, *They had been deſtroyed, if the Lord had not threatned to deſtroy them, the meſſage of (a conditionall) deſtruction was a meanes to make void the very meſſage it ſelfe of deſtruction.*

Eſtius, in l. 1. diſtin. 45. ſ. 7.

Exod. 32.

Chryſoſt. Homil. 55 ad pop. Antioch.

And here by the way you may take notice of the weaknes of the *Arminians* objection againſt our doctrin of predeſtination and free will as delivered by our Church: if there was ſuch a peremptory reprobation (ſay they) without previſion of finall impenitency, if we have no power to receive grace tendered to us in the ordinances, then God doth but delude and mocke us, perſwading us to beleeve and repent, when we have no will at all to beleeve or repent. This doctrine (ſay they) doth deeply charge the Lord with hypocriſie and diſſimulation, and conſequently it is to be rejected.

Object.

And truly thrice damned be that doctrine that directly caſteth the leaſt aſperſion, much more ſuch foule an attainter on our moſt pure and moſt holy God bleſſed for ever.

Sol.

Firſt, by this which you have heard it evidently appeareth and that alſo by the concurrent ſuffrages of the moſt acute Schoolemen, that neither commands nor perſwaſions are evident arguments of Gods good-will and pleaſure; when we ſay God wils any thing by the will of his precept, or by his revealed will and not will it by the will of his decree or good pleaſure, it is in effect thus much, that God commands men to doe that vvhich for juſt cauſes he will not give them grace to doe, but ſuffers them

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to

to do the contrary, and in his wisdome and power ordering their sins to his owne glory. So that there is no contradiction betwixt these two, but take them in their true meaning according to these different respects, and they well accord together.

Exod. 3. 19. 2. Secondly, We have a ruled case in Gods booke, touching *Pharaoh*, *Moses* was sent unto him in the name of the Lord, and yet the Lord told him before he vvas sent, *That he would not let Israel goe out of his Land.* Must *Moses* therefore forbeare to speake to *Pharaoh* in the name of the Lord? Or did the Lord mock *Pharaoh* to speak unto him to that purpose? Let them answer this and they may see that they have answered themselves.

3. Thirdly and directly, I answer thus, he is said to mocke and to delude one, which makes a shew to doe that, which he hath no intent to doe, if his offer was accepted, thus God never deals with any man; that which he commands them to do, it is their duty to doe: True it is they cannot doe that which is commanded, but they may blame themselves, and God is not bound to set up these bankrupts againe, and give them a new supply of sufficiency to do that which is commanded, which if they could do (as I said before) God would accept of their service and reward them for it; it is not just, not equall that God should change his righteous law, and fit it to mans corruption: but great reason there is, that our hearts like crooked timber, should be framed according to the rule of Gods most holy law.

6. Sixthly, the doing of an outward worke is a signe of the inward will, and in this all agree, that whatsoever God doth, that he truly and properly wils, and we may infallibly from Gods outward worke as from an effect, assure our selves that it is Gods will it should be so: Certainly and alwaies the will of the signe, and the will of Gods good pleasure are coincident, doe meet together saith *Thomas.*

Aquin. 1. p. q. 19 Art. 12. Now Gods will here vvas the vvill of Gods good pleasure: and this vvill was not secret and unknowne to our Saviour that he should die for man, but manifestly knowne unto him, and therefore albeit this vvas a bitter cup to drinke, yet being Gods will that he should drinke it, he submitted to it. Hence I doe observe,

Observ. *We ought to conforme our wils in case of all crosses and death it self*

to

to the holy revealed Will of God. When God reveales his will to us by any crosse, by any outward event on our selves or others: The outward worke is a booke written in great text letters what is Gods good pleasure towards our selves or others; so long as Gods will is secret, 'tis not necessary we should conforme our wils to his, but we may in some cases laudably, nay we must differ from this will of God, as St *Austin* teacheth us in the example of a sonne, holily wishing and praying that his father might live, when Gods will is that he should die, and ungodly wishing that he might die, when Gods will is that his father should die: but when once the will of God is made knowne to us by the event, or otherwise, as here it was to our Saviour, then must we say, *Not my will, but thy will O God be done.*

August. Enchirid. c. 101.

Requisite it is before I proceed further, because this doctrine is built upon a particular example, to shew when we can from thence warrantably deduce a true instruction generall to all: to raise a point alwaies as belonging to all, from the particular practise of our Saviour Christ is to build on the sands, I mean without a good foundation to that purpose.

We must consider Christ as man and as Mediatour. As God we ought not to attempt the imitation of our Saviour Christ in workes miraculous, as raising the dead, *&c.* nor can we in his workes of mediation, satisfying the wrath of God by his sufferings, dispensing the Spirit, governing the Church; yea when Christ is to be followed by us, we must distinguish betwixt the individuall fact of our Saviour, and the reason of it, our Saviour gave us an example to wash Disciples feet, as he did, which binds us not to that particular of washing: but to acts of humility and curtesie one towards another; nor are we bound to the circumstance of time and place to preach in *Judea*, and to baptize in *Jordane*, as some have superstitiously done; nor are we to follow Christ in his naturall actions, as eating and drinking, but so farre forth as they are cloathed with morality. We ought to follow him in his temperance and moderation in them both. But now in such things which our Saviour Christ did, which do appertain to all men as a duty to doe, we must propose our Saviour as a pattern of imitation; he is as a looking-glasse, wherein we may see how to order and governe our selves, he is a true guide and leads us both

Canter. Pan-strat Tom. 3 l. 19. c. 7.

Joh. 13:

by his heavenly doctrine and example to life everlasting. And this is agreeable to the point in hand, it belongs to us as it did to Christ, to submit our wils to the will of God, nor can any man looke to have Christ his Saviour, except he make him his sampler.

Well then, as by our active obedience, we are to labour that our doings may be pleasing to God: so in regard of passive obedience, we must indeavour that what God inflicteth on us may be pleasing to us: This doth the Lord require in that excellent phrase to accept of the punishment of our iniquity, the originall is, רצה
Levit. 26.41. which the *Septuagints* doe translate by the word εὐδοκᾶν, *to be well*
Mat. 26.14. *pleased with them*, and as our Saviour Christ exhorteth, to *take up our crosse*.

Let us lay all we have downe at the feet of our God, and let us be contented that he should dispose of our health, of our wealth, of our lives, and of all that doth belong unto us. Our soules must stand like *Eliyah* in the mouth of of the Cave, ready to come out, when God shall call us, and with *Abraham* at the doore of his tent, ready to entertain death, or any evill which God shall send.

Neither doth this doctrine take away all passion for our owne misery, or compassion for the misery of others; for we must look
Exod. 14.20. upon these evils with a double aspect, which are like the cloud that went with the *Israelites*, blacke to the *Egyptians*, but light to Gods people: Consider them as they are simply evils, and such
1. evils as doe deprive us of Gods good blessings; take instance in
2. sicknesse, as it deprives us of health, and the death of our friends,
3. as it deprives us of the life of our friends, and the comforts we received from them. Yea moreover, consider them as they are the
Azor. Instit. prints of Gods displeasure, and in these respects we may, nay I
Moral l.2.par.1 say more, we ought to grieve for evils, but now consider them as
1. Gods works, and such as doe proceed from his most holy will,
2. and as they are by his infinite wisdome directed to just and holy
3. ends, in these respects we ought to be well pleased and contented with them: These workes are then like to those double faced pictures, looke on them one way, and you shall behold an ugly visage, but change your posture and looke on the other side, and you shall see a beautifull person: and as *Luther* saith, *Looke up to God, and we have wherein to rejoyce, but looke into our selves and we have*

cause

cauſe to mourne? therefore let there be joy in mourning, and mourning in joy, Gaudium in abſcondito, luctus in cognito. *Luther. Tom. 1. fol. 39.*

The point in hand is clearly proved by Scripture: holy *Job*, when one ſad Meſſenger trod on the heeles of another, as one wave in the tempeſtuous Sea follows another, reverently ſubmitted and piouſly acknowledged, *The Lord hath given and the Lord hath taken away, bleſſed be the name of the Lord.* When old *Eli* heard from young *Samuel* the fearefull judgements which God would ſend upon his family, he replied piouſly, *It is the Lord, let him doe What is good in his eyes.* When *David* fled from *Abſolom* his moſt unnaturall ſonne, he ſaid thus, *If the Lord thus ſay, behold I have no delight in thee, loe here am I, let him doe to me What ſeemeth good to him.* If the Lord will have me to be driven from my kingdome, and my ſonne who is a tyrant and murtherer of his brother, a paricide (in intention and endeavour) injurious and furious to raigne in my ſtead, I am content, and doe thanke him for innumerable afflictions, wherewith he hath chaſtiſed me; many which have not the leſt part of *Davids* vertues, when they are croſſed, fear not to wound themſelves with a thouſand blaſphemies, but *David* did not ſo, he referrs himſelfe and his cauſe to God, *Let him doe What is good in his eyes.* O moſt notable practiſe of a diſtreſſed King to be highly commended and imitated of every good Chriſtian in his diſtreſſe. Be alwaies thinking thus, and ſaying thus, let the Lord doe to me what is good in his eyes. This was alſo the mind of godly *Hezekiah*, when he received a meſſage from the Lord, that the *Babylonians* ſhould be maſters of all his treaſure, and that they ſhould leade his children captive into *Babylon*: Did he fret? Was he diſcontented? Was he caſt downe with ſorrow? No verily, he meekly ſubmitted himſelfe to the Lord, ſaying, *Good is the Word of the Lord.* The Saints in the *Acts* of the *Apoſtles* will freely give us their ſuffrage, for they underſtanding that St *Paul* had a reſolute purpoſe to goe to *Jeruſalem*, albeit they did certainly know that there he ſhould ſuffer much for the name of the Lord Ieſus, ceaſed further to trouble him by their intreaties, uſing this golden ſentence, *The will of the Lord be done.* *Chryſoſt. Hom. 3. in Mat.* 1 Sam. 3, 18. 2 Sam. 15, 16. Job 1. 21. 2 King. 20. 19. Act. 21. 14.

Theſe are faire torches to ſhine before us, and may ſerve as the fiery pillar to the *Iſraelites* to illighten, direct and comfort us in

all our miseries. S. *Austin* saith excellently, *As it pleaseth the Lord, so come things to passe; because it pleaseth him, let it please us too; that which pleaseth our good God, let it not displease his unworthy servants; that which pleaseth the Physitian, let it not displease the sick Patient.*

Aug. de Symbolo ad Cat.

And that wee may stand alwaies thus affected with the Lords doings, let us weigh these reasons, and they will prevaile.

Reason 1.

First, because all crosses doe befall us, as the Disciples said in the *Acts* of the *Apostles*, by the will of God, and the will of God made knowne unto us is the rule and law of all created wils, insomuch that *Luther* commends this saying of D. *John Thaulerus*, as most true and *theologicissimum*, if heaven was open before thee, yet oughtest thou not to enter into it, till thou hadst learned it was the will of God, thou shouldest enter; This may be collected from the practise of upright *Noah*, albeit he had been many moneths together in the Arke as an intolerable prison destitute of fresh aire, yet would not he when the waters were dried up, go out of the Arke, till God commanded him. The will of God is an unerring guide, which we may safely follow; for Gods working will is alwaies most holy and just, neither can God will any thing effectually, but it is therefore good, because God doth will it.

Luther. Resp. ad Pricrat. ad 40. Chrys. Homil. 26. in Genes. Gen. 8 13. Zanch. de natura Dei l. 3. c. 4. q. 12.

Nor are we thus to conforme vvhen vve can see a cause, but vve ought so to doe, vvhen vve can see no reason of Gods actions; vvhen vve cannot fully comprehend, vve cannot justly reprehend them; 'tis true and knowne by experience, that vvhen an unskilfull man comes into an Artificers shop vvhich is skilfull and expert in his trade, he is ready to find faults; but a vvise man will not doe so; he vvill say the Artificer knows the reason of all his actions, though I doe not, and if a cunning and wise tradesman makes nothing in vaine; can we with any shew of reason thinke ('tis S. *Austins* inference) that God doth any thing without cause? Surely we cannot, we ought not I am sure.

August. in Psa. 148.

2.

Secondly, it is the property of true friends to will and nill the same things: if we be the friends of God, as it was *Abrahams* honour so to be stiled, and as we desire to be reputed, our hearts will be conformable to Gods heart; as the Lords heart is in any

Jam. 2. 23.

busines

buſineſſe affected : our hearts too will in ſome meaſure be diſpoſed to affect the ſame; where there is betwixt husband and wife true conjugall love and friendſhip, the inferiour will yeeld againſt particular inclination to the ſuperiour ; it muſt be ſo, ſaith the wife, my husband will have it ſo, and my deſire muſt be ſubject to his. We may learne this from carnall friends, which knit faſt their affections by furthering the carnall deſire of their lovers, as *Jonadab* did *Ammons* the Kings ſonne, and Subjects will uſually doe ſuch things which will pleaſe their Soveraignes, what pleaſed King *David*, pleaſed all his people. If amongſt men that is the moſt firme, true and indiſſoluble friendſhip which doth ariſe from ſimilitude of manners, then muſt we carefully indeavour, if we would be counted the friends of God, not to diſlike in any thing what our good Lord doth like ; if we are inflamed with the fire of his love, then will wee like and approve whatſoever the Lord our God doth like and approve ; and if we diſlike his actions, the Lord may checke us as he did *Samuel*, how long wilt thou mourne for *Saul*, ſeeing I have rejected him from raigning over *Iſrael?* As if he ſhould have ſaid, doth my will ſo diſpleaſe thee, that thou preferreſt a ſinfull man before my pleaſure?

2 Sam. 13. 5.

2 Sam. 3. 36.

1 Sam. 16. 1.

Thirdly, I reaſon thus ; That which we pray to God for that we might doe, that muſt we labour to put in practiſe, or elſe we pray in vaine, and our hearts and our tongues are ſtrangers in our petitions. Now this is the ſumme of the third Petition of the Lords prayer, in reſpect of paſſive obedience, *Thy Will be done on earth.* Simply to ſuffer is not to doe the will of God, but the vigour and acting of our graces in our ſufferings, makes us to be acceptable to God, and makes them to be comfortable and profitable for our ſelves ; 'tis undoubtedly true : we muſt rather approve Gods will, then what our reaſon will ſuggeſt. Why not ? we cannot be ignorant that the Lord hath all good things in ſtore for his children ; if they want what their hearts deſire, it is not for want of good will in God, but becauſe it is beſt for them to want it. Now if we doe not thus, what follows ? We preferre our owne wils which are corrupt before Gods will which is moſt pure, and we are like to *Abſalom* : *Thy matter is good* (ſaith he) *and O that I was made judge in the land, I would doe every man juſtice,*

3.

2 Sam. 15. 3.

stice, and in effect (with reverence be it spoken) We thus do say, if I had been God. I rather would have done thus, I would not in diverse particulars have done as God hath done. Such desperate speeches were uttered by *Alphonso* the 10th. king of *Castile*, which very thought cannot, much lesse can such impious words be excused from blasphemy.

Spanish History l. 12.

Joseph we know at first was displeased with his Father for laying his right hand on *Ephraim*, and his left hand on *Manasseh* his eldest sonne; where God layes the right hand we wish for the left, and where he layeth his left hand, we are displeased that he layeth not on his right hand there; have not we in this forgotten our prayer, *thy will be done*. Such as will not resigne themselves to Gods will, are, as it were, Gods counsellours, nay controlers, saying, thus might God have done better, else why doe we not submit to him? Is not this malapert sancinesse against our great God, at least unadvised ignorance in no case to be excused?

Gen. 48. 17.

4. Fourthly, that which we receive purely from Gods will is most acceptable to him, provided that we receive it cheerfully and for love of his holy will, where there is the least of our owne wils, there is most of Gods pleasure, and the simple and pure acceptance of Gods will, makes our grace most excellent, and our persons more accepted and rewarded of God; it is better without comparison to doe all we doe in reference to Gods will, which containes all perfections in it, then for any other end; for every worke takes it's goodnesse from the end for which it is done, having in it selfe no more goodnesse then it receiveth from the end, so that if it be done for some end that is base, the worke it selfe, though for the outward matter it be glorious, is base: if the end be high, the worke is high, if it be higher and better, the worke is higher and better; a higher and better motive we cannot have then the will of God, nor any like unto it; for that is immediately God himselfe, which is the soveraigne good; a man may submit for many ends, *viz.* to extenuate vice, to attaine unto vertue, to avoid hell, and to attaine heaven, to imitate our Saviours example; all which are good, though some of them are better then others, but to submit, because it is Gods will is farre more excellent then all the rest, which

which have their end and object only on the creature directly, but indirectly on the Creatour. It was very commendable in the young sonne of *Mustapha*, being educated at *Prusias*, and an Eunuch being sent to dispatch him out of the way, and this being told unto him, that hee was commanded by the Emperour to be put to death, the child answered, *Ex disciplina Gentis*, that hee did not receive this as a commandement of the Emperour, but as a commandement of God himselfe, and so offers his necke to the butcher: and if *Mahumetans* doe this, should not Christians much more submit to the Lord of all the world?

Busbequ. Legation. Turcicas lib. Epist. 1. p. 63.

5. The last reason shall be this, that which we know, when we are perfected as we should be, when our wils shall be thoroughly compleat, we shall then cordially will with all our hearts, that ought we now to approve, what lies in our power: We are not in this our pilgrimage purged from all drosse and corruption, yet ought we to strive now, as S. *Paul* did unto perfection; we ought to endeavour now to conforme our wils to the wils of the blessed Saints and Angels in heaven. This is an undoubted truth, but we know that when we shall be blessed and happy with Christ in his kingdome, when we shall know no man according to the flesh, that we shall then both will and like whatsoever our Lord and God willeth and liketh: we shall seeke nothing, intend nothing, desire nothing, but Gods will to be done, *Beatus dies ille*, happy is that day which joyneth and equalleth the wils of those that are earthly to those which are heavenly; that there should be one and the same will betwixt different substances; this is faithfull peace, unshaken concord, perseverant grace, when according to the order of the Lord our only God, The Family which is diverse in nature is one in will, (saith S. *Chrysologus.*) When we are in heaven we shall like whatsoever the Lord liketh, even the damnation of all impenitent sinners, were they in this life our nearest friends or most intimate acquaintance. *This is no new point or strange divinitie; For hell it selfe* (saith *Luther*) *is full of God, and the chiefe good, no lesse then heaven, for the justice of God which shines forth in the damnation of the wicked, is God himselfe, and God is the chiefest good, and therefore as his mercie, so his justice and mercy are highly to be loved and praised.* Whence it follows by necessary

Phil. 3. 14.

Petrus Chrysolog. Serm. 68.

Luther. Tessera decas tent. pro laborant Spirit. seu cap 4.

necessary inference that we ought now in this life to approve all Gods works. Why should we not? Is there not the like reason founded on the eternall law? Or have Saints in heaven another rule to walke by, which appertaine not to men which live on earth? No such matter. Nay this supposition is more then any temporall evill, *If God should reveale to the Church the reprobation of a sinner, the Church ought no more to pray that such a man might be saved, then they are allowed to pray for the salvation of devils and of damned spirits* (saith S. *Austin*) *to whom our charitie extendeth not, as being uncapable of beatificall vision.*

August lib. 21. de civit. Dei. c. 24.

Use 1. of Refu. Hence it followeth that the doctrine of *Durandus* and some other Popish Divines is false and erroneous; they hold that a man is not bound in his crosses to conforme his will to Gods will, but it is enough (they say) for him to be patient when he is crossed, and that his will is not contrary to the will of his Creatour, though it be not conformable to it. And in this case I wish we could goe thus farre, though in dutie we ought to goe farther then so.

Object. They say a man is not bound to wish for miseries and to love them.

Sol. True, a man ought not absolutely to wish for future evils, and indiscreetly to pull them on his own head, because he knows not what future contingencies shall be, and if he did know, yet he knows that Gods will is that he should not draw them on himself, but to carry himselfe when they are sent of God, as a Christian ought to doe.

Object. They object againe, if we ought to conforme our wils to the will of God, then ought we neither to resist enemies invading us, nor prevent diseases growing upon us, nor quench a fire consuming us.

Sol. I denie the consequence, such absurdities follow not from any thing I have delivered. This is a ruled case; as the will of God is made knowne unto us, so ought we to conforme unto it; but when evils are comming on us, we may by Gods law without sinne, and we cannot but sinne against the will of God, if we should not labour to prevent such mischiefes, if lawfully we can; thus when an enemy is fighting against us. We know that it is Gods will that an enemy shall fight against us, and thus we ought to will and approve it; but hence it is not apparent to us that

we

we should be vanquished by an enemy. We may use all lawfull meanes for our defence, and so to doe is, *juris naturalis*. The like may be said of curing diseases, quenching fires or of any other evils; but if God should reveale unto us, that an enemy should take a City, and send us word to yeeld it into their hands, as he did King *Hezekiah* by *Ieremie* the Prophet, then should we sin, if we did not conforme to Gods will thus manifested to us. Ier. 38.17, 18.

I need spend no more words by way of confutation; such Popish Divines which oppose this truth are opposed almost unanimously by the Doctours of their own Church. See *Gregor. de Valentia Tom.* 2. *disput.* 2. *p.* 8. *Estius in Lombar. lib.* 1. *dist.* 48. nor would I have named this Use, but that I conceive the discussion of these objections will give some light to weaker Christians to understand the better the main proposition.

2. This point affords matter of reproofe to many persons, which are ready, when they are crossed by the working of the creatures, to looke on them only, and not at all to cast up their hearts to the seat of Majesty, as Christ did in this text, in his bitter passion to the will of God. When there came a voice from heaven to Christ, *Some of the people that stood by said it thundred, others said that an Angell spake to him.* When God layes his hand upon us by fire, warre, pestilence, or otherwise, we with those Jewes, doe not acknowledge that God speakes unto us, we will rather attribute these things to nature, to the aire, to starres, to the malice of enemies, then to God, as though there was an opposition and not a subordination betwixt God and all the creatures in their operations, and so we resemble the uncleane dogs which gnaw the stone that is cast at them, and doe not regard the hand that cast it, or like the wilde beasts, which breake their teeth on the chains that binde them, or those which use the armour ointment, which doe anoint the instrument that woundeth, but apply nothing at all to the wounded person, and perhaps like the Iewes cursing their King and their God, which was no God, this is an unreasonable act; as if a Traitour sentenced to die by his King and his Peeres, should fall foule upon his executioner, or pick a quarrell at the axe, or as if a sicke Patient to whom a wise Physitian prescribeth a bitter potion for the recovery of his health, should fall out with the Apothecary for ministring it; Cursed *Balaam* fals out with his Asse

2. Use of repr. Ioh. 12.28. Isa. 8.21. Numb. 22.

Asse and beats it, the covetous wizard ascribes nothing to himself, nothing to his owne sinne. *Balaams* evill is an hereditary evill to most sinners at this day, in their crosses, still the Asse is beaten, they curse, they smite, they accuse this or that creature, and sometimes doe as foolishly, as Stories report *Zerxes* that great King of *Persia* did, who understanding that the Bridge, which is called the Saddle to ride the Sea-horse, which he had made over the *Hellespont*, was broken downe with impetuous waves, caused three hundred stripes (full wisely you may imagine) to be inflicted on that Sea by way of revenge. Thus apt are sinners to wreake their choler, not out of reason, but imagination, upon inanimate creatures the instruments of their evill, and no marvell then if sinners looking no higher then the creatures, are ready with *Ephraim* in the pride and stoutnesse of their hearts to say, *The bricks are fallen down, but we will build with hewen stones, the Sycomors are cut downe, but we will change them into Cedars.* We will make our houses more sumptuous and more magnificent then they were before, and so they make a reckoning to repaire all their other losses.

Boter. lib. 1. Relat.

Aquin 1.2.9. 46. art 7.

Isa. 9. 10.

Nor are the bad onely apt to transgresse in this kind, but good ones do often faile by their unreasonable anger against such things as doe crosse them. This *Cassian* an ancient Father speakes out of his owne knowledge, that when religious persons were separated from the world and lived in desarts, they would be angry with their pens when they writ not well, with their pen-knives, when they did not cut well, with their flint if it did not strike fire well, he saith, they could not digest the perturbation of their minds, but by venting their rage against those insensible things, or against the devill himself. *For this kinde of revenge* (saith S. *Austin*) *to break or cast away a naughty instrument is a shadow of retribution, When the doers of evill shall suffer evill.*

Cassian. de spir. Itæ. l. 8 c. 18.

August. l. 14. de civit. Dei. c. 15.

But we need not range abroad into the world for examples in this kind, we have store in the word of God. Thus holy and patient *Iob cursed the day wherein he was borne, and the night wherein he was conceived*; he complaines that he died not in the wombe, and that he sucked his mothers brest. Did not *Iob* a wise-man much forget himselfe? Neither was this *Iobs* fault alone, but we reade that the Prophet *Ieremy* fell into the same errour, *Cursed be the*

Διὰ τὴν ὑπερβολὴν τῆς θλίψεως. *Iustin. Martyr. in resp. ad Orthod q. 15.*

Iob 3. 11.

Jer. 20. 14.

day

day (ſaith he) *wherein I was borne, let not the day be bleſſed; Curſed be the man that brought tidings to my Father, ſaying, a man child is borne unto thee.* A great and an unreaſonable fault of a great Prophet. And was not King *David* greatly diſpleaſed, becauſe the Lord ſmote *Uzzah*, and made a breach in the carriage of the Arke? He conſidered not in the meane time, as afterwards he did; that his owne ignorance, and the ignorance of others was the true cauſe thereof, for the Arke ſhould not have been carried on a Cart as now it was, perhaps in imitation of the Philiſtines, which having taken it, and as a token of their victory carried it away; but being plagued of God they ſent it backe againe on a cart to the coaſts of *Iſrael*: Thus they ſhould not have done, and God that ſpared the Philiſtines in this being ignorant would not ſpare his owne, not knowing or not regarding his expreſſe law, which was to carry it by ſtaves put into the rings of the ſide of the Arke, and ſo to be borne on the Levites ſhoulders, which they were not to touch with their hands. But who can ſufficiently wonder at the Prophet *Ionah*? he was diſpleaſed becauſe his gourd was ſmitten, and being demanded of God, if *he did well to be angry. Yes* (ſaith he) *I doe well to be angry even to death.* What was the matter *Ionah*? Be like it was for ſome great ſinne, for his owne or others ſinnes againſt God. Not for ſinne; but God had ſmitten him in his conceit. Why? *he ſmote the gourd*, his ſhade againſt the parching heat, and it withered, *and therefore I do well to be angry to death.* And doſt thou well to be angry with thy good God *Ionah*? Theſe are recorded to warne us to take heed of this ſinne, as he that is corrected juſtly, if he chriſtianly demeaneth himſelfe, ſhall be deemed by many to be unjuſtly tormented; ſo he that is wrongfully vexed, if he be not patient, will be judged to be juſtly afflicted, and he will be derided as a ſlave to anger, ſubjecting the nobleneſſe of his mind to a furious paſſion: not will I ſay he is a free man, albeit he was Lord over a thouſand ſervants.

1 Chro. 15. 2, 13.
1 Sam. 6. 7.
Exod. 25. 14. Numb. 4 15. & 7. 9.
Jon. 4.
Chryſoſt Homil. 88 in Mat.

Secondly, are all evils according to the will of God? Iuſtly then are ſtoicall Chriſtians reproved, which are ſenſleſſe in their evils, and like *Ionah* doe fall aſleepe in a great ſtorme; or like to drunkards which being ſmitten doe feele nothing, which moved the Prophet to complaine that *the Lord had ſmitten his people, but*

Uſe 2. Reproof
Prov. 23. 34. Jer. 5. 3.

Isa.42.25. *they grieved not.* Yea, *he burned them by the fiery of his anger, and the strength of battell*; Yet (saith another Prophet) *they laid it not* Num.12.14. *to heart, they were even as a lumpe of dead flesh, altogether insensible of Gods stroake.* If our Parents should be offended with us and smite us, would it not trouble us? How much more should it trouble us when our God by his stroakes shewes himselfe displeased with us: If we lay it not to heart when God beats us on the coat, we shall move him to smite us on the bare skins, and if yet we remaine insensible the Lord may adde more plagues and increase his terrours, from our goods to our bodies, from our bodies to our minds, from our persons to our children: First, doth the Lord shoot some warning peece, if we strike not our sailes looke then for the murthering shot; he can make the proudest spirits stoupe, and cry out with *Iulian* the Apostate, who receiv- Theodor. l.4. hist. c.25. ed a mortall wound, which proved very seasonable and profitable for the whole world, saith *Gregor. Nazianz.* vicisti Galilæe, Eccl.7.14. *O (Christ) thou Galilean thou hast overcome me.* To shut up this Use, my counsell is to thee (my brother) ראה see the evill and by it apprehend the Lords displeasure, and so be thou accordingly affected with it.

3.Use of Exho. The third Use is of Exhortation to perswade you all to labour to conforme your wils in all your sufferings to the will of God. This is a notable meanes for any one to enjoy good and comfortable daies, and who is he that would not leade a comfortable life? There can be no better meanes then this to submit our wils in all the various occurrents of this life to the will of God; This point I know, is a very hard taske for flesh and bloud to performe, especially then to doe it when the hand of the Lord lieth heavy upon us: 'Tis one thing to contemplate this truth, and another thing when we are put to the tryall, to *practise* it; not is it a difficult matter, when we our selves are well to give this wholesome counsell to our brethren in distresse, but to submit willingly to God, when we are very ill and doe live in great distresse, is a high point of learning; but this we ought to do, and that we may do it, as we ought, let us put in practise these helps.

Helpes 1. First, Remove the causes which hinder us from submitting to Gods will; this will be as a sweet perfume to take away the evill favour of these evils, and as the Unicornes horne dipt in the fountaine

taine, it will make these unsavoury waters wholesome to us.

The first impediment which I will name is impatiency, which is the daughter of anger, and the mother, I say not as *Tertullian* of all, but of many sinnes: Hence doe arise unbeseeming complaints in our miseries; I doe not condemne all complaints, complaints in our distresse which arise from the consideration of our sinnes, the cause of all our woes, and from the extremity of pain, which mooved Christ himselfe who was without sinne to roare in his agony and to make a loud complaint and which tends to moove the Lord to compassionate us in our misery, are lawfull, but those complaints which issue out of impatiency are alwaies unjust. Impatiency makes a man live continually upon selfe created rackes, and to rubbe out his wretched dayes in perpetuall discontent, it razeth out the memory of good things already received, and it makes us account those blessings which are heaped upon us as no blessings at all, and when our hearts are a sepulcher to burie them, the Lord may justly not open his hands to blesse us with an addition of new mercies, yea and recover his blessings out of our hands. And I pray what hath your impatiency availed you? Are not you in all your tossings like a wind-mils sailes, still in the same place, in the same condition. You may (my brethren) vexe your soules with peevishnesse, and when you have done all that possible you can, when you have wrestled what you can with supreme majesty, you shall find that your estate is no whit bettered thereby; what God hath purposed, rage you never so much, shall come to passe, and if there be not a voluntary submission to Gods will, there must be a violent subjection, yea and impatiency makes the smarting wound the deeper, it gives afflictions teeth to eat out the very heart of an impatient man, and like *Acteons* dogs to devoure it's master, as the bird in the net by struggling is more entangled, or as a man by kicking against the thorne is more deeply pierced.

1. *Tertullian. de patientia.*

Bald. Cas. conse. l. 2. cap. 1. casu 4

1.
2.
3.

Psa. 22. 1.

Hos. 1. 9.

Beware my beloved of this sinne, whereby you grieve both God and good men, and glad in a sort the devill and wicked ones which are your enemies, and most of all do hurt your selves. Surely the due consideration of this one thing, it is the will of God to send this punishment, should be enough to make us abandon this great and fruitlesse sinne, and to play the men in all kinds of such evils

evils whither they be ignominious or glorious; we digest not a blow from our equals, but a blow from our King we can well digest, if God the King of Kings laies his hands on our backes, let us beloved lay our hands on our mouthes. I am sure this stopped *Davids* mouth from venting fretfull speeches. *I held my tongue and said nothing.* Why didst thou so *David*? *Because thou Lord didst it*; and God gives this testimony of such an one, *that he is a prudent man that keeps silence at an evill time.*

Psal. 39. 9. Amos 5. 13.

2. A second cause to be removed is pride, which is an inordinate love of thine owne supposed excellency; to love a mans selfe in piety, I know, is gracious, and he is the best friend to himselfe, which in this way loves himselfe the best; but by selfe love, I meane an inordinate love of a mans owne pleasure, ease, profit or honour, which hinders the sight of his love from flaming upward to God, or forwards to his friends, or backward to his enemies, or inward to his soule, or downeward to the needy: This self-love is as a captain among vices, set in the first place by the Apostle, as the leader of all the rest; 'tis a furious passion springing from ignorance of God, and of a mans selfe, from the want of regeneration and the love of God, and his children. Now when such a man hath made an idoll of himselfe, and the utmost end of all his actions, then as he will in body endure any labour to finde out his supposed good, so will his soule endure many a lash to satisfie his brutish desire, and when he is crossed, then will his turbulent heart rise up against the crosser, and he is ready to storme against Gods providence, and will with his ill-favoured tongue be ready to say; What meanes the Lord to deale thus with me? Who can endure this misery: Am I a greater sinner then other men? Should such a man as I am be so molested and disquieted? Would God he would either take this trouble from me, or take me out of this trouble. Thou foole knowest thou not that this evill is according to Gods will? He meets thee in thy crooked pathes, as sometimes he did *Balaam* by his holy Angell, though now thou dost not see him, and if thine eyes were open to behold him, as the wizards were, thou wouldest abhorre thy selfe, and fall downe flat on thy face to worship God: Be perswaded then I pray you in Gods feare to crucifie pride and self-love, and to practise self-denyall.

2 Tim. 3. 2.

Thus much be spoken of the first meanes, the removall of some of the impediments which hinder us: The second and direct followeth.

Secondly, consider that all the crosses which doe befall thee are just, and that the Lord doth thee no wrong thereby; when the Lord had smitten the *Jewes* in their corne and wine, he exhorteth them to consider their owne wayes; without consideration we shall be meere *Barbarians* to the judgements, and the judgements will be meere torments to us; the heaven when it is as brasse, speaks to us, complaine not of me, but of your owne sins; the earth when it is as iron speakes thus, complaine not of me, but of your owne sinnes; and every crosse cryeth in the same language, complaine not of me, but of your owne sinnes; If God should make all our dayes miserable, it was but just; If his wrath should seaze on our bodies, names, braines and consciences. If on our wives, children and goods, all were but just. Take an example out of the history of *Mauritius* that unhappy Emperour, who having lost the love of his Subjects, the Souldiers proclaime *Phocas* Emperour in his place. *Mauritius* lay sicke at *Chalcedon*. *Phocas* crowned at *Constantinople*, posted thither, kils two sonnes of *Mauritius*, and his three daughters in his sight, and then his godly wife *Constantina*, in acting hereof *Mauritius* uttered this memorable sentence, *Righteous art thou O Lord and just are all thy wayes*. And this is true not only concerning particular men, but whole Churches, it was just with the Lord to clense his floore in *Canaan* with the Philistines fanne, and to purge the gold of *Judah* in the *Babylonish* fornace, and to wash the streets in *Italy*, and in *Rome* it selfe by the *Gothes* inundation, to prune his vine in *Greece*, *Egypt*, and divers other countries with the *Mahumetan* knife, and to rectifie in some places the disorders of reformed Professours by the sword of Antichristians. And now for the sins of this ungratefull Nation to threaten our destruction by our unnaturall and civill commotions, and I pray God they prove not a desperate Physick, but such which may produce a perfect health to our Church and State.

2. Helpe.

Carionis Chronicon. unctum à Phil. Melan. & Pemew. l. 3. p. 367.

Jer. 51. 2.

Doe you then say for every evill that doth befall you, *We know, O Lord, that thy judgements are right:* And with the Church in *Micah*, *I will beare the indignation of the Lord, because I have sinned*

Psal. 119. 75. Mic. 7. 9.

Lam. 1. 18. D. Leyfield cited by M. Gataker Ser. on Gen. 32. 10.

ned against him, and with mournfull *Ierusalem*, *The Lord is righteous, but We have sinned against him*; and with the *Rabbi* called *Rabbi Gam-Zoth*, this too, because hee used alwaies to say, whatsoever befell him, this is good too, and this too, and this too.

3.

3. Consider advisedly of the gracious dealing of God towards thee, he might vex thee a thousand times more then he doth: and a wise man will argue as *Iob* did, *Shall We receive good of the Lord and not evill?* Nay suppose thou shouldest finde here for a pint of honey a gallon of gaul; for a dram of pleasure, a pound of paine; for an inch of joy, an ell of sorrow, and that miseries should encompasse thy life, as the Ivie doth the oake, yet doe thou thinke hereof as the Iewes did of the *Babylonians* captivity, which is called the evill, the onely evill, yet did Gods people take notice of some mercy, some mitigation of the rigour of justice in the most extreme affliction that ever befell them.

Iob 2. 10. Ezr. 7. 5. & 9. 13. Lam. 3. 2.

Thinke I pray you advisedly of this true Axiome of divinity, in what case soever thou art, thou hast cause to thanke God that it is not worse with thee; Is thy apparell, thin, course and beggarly? thou deservest not rags? Is thy fare and diet homely and penurious? thou dost not deserve the crumbes that fall from rich mens tables, nor the huskes that swine do feed on; Dost thou live diseased in body or distracted in mind? thou deservest to be in hell; and thou hast cause to thanke God that thou art not frying in those flames with many reprobates: Have in your mouthes alwayes that which *Vigilius*, a constant and a patient Pope had in the midst of all his sufferings, that he deserved greater miseries; well may we endure the aking of our teeth, if we consider we deserve gnashing of teeth for ever. Well may we endure a burning feaver, if we consider that we deserve hell-fire; alas our paines be consolations, and our briars be roses, in respect of those which live in perpetuall death, over-charged with torments, infinitely heavier then ours are: It is an excellent speech of holy *Salvian*. *Whatsoever our miseries are, they are testimonies of an evill servant and a good Master*; how testimonies of an evill servant? because by them we suffer in part what we deserve; how are they testimonies of a good Master, because by them he sheweth us what we deserve, and yet layeth not upon us so much as we deserve. And

Plania in vita Vigilij.

Salvian. l. 4. de Gubern. Dei.

Luther

Luther adviseth us thus to meditate on the death of Christ for our profit, our evils are nothing to Christs sorrow, and withall the lowest and meanest member of Christ in any Condition is more excellent then the highest Monarch in the world, as the foot of a man is better then the eye of a dog, or the head of an asse. *Luther. Conc. de pass. Chr. Erasm. lib. Eccl.*

4. Consider that the time of bearing crosses in this present world is but very short, a cubit as it were: we have no reason to dreame of many daies here, for so length of sorrow might discourage us; our fansied yeares may want moneths, our moneths daies, and our daies may want hours. Our Saviour comforts his Disciples, *that a little while it is, and then ye shall see me: ye shall suffer* saith S. *Peter but a while, the God of peace shall tread downe Sathan under your feet ἐν τάχει, in a swift time* saith the Doctor of the *Gentiles*, that is our comfort, and supports a Christian when he is ready to faint, that his misery is not long lived. We do heare to the ioy of our hearts, that it is but for a litale moment that the Lord forsakes his people; on this ground are the beleeving Hebrewes exhorted and comforted, *yet a little while and he that shall come will come and will not tarrie.* These evils are but clouds which will soone ride away, as S. *Athanasius* foretold of *Iulians* persecution; true, our senses may deeme afflictions to be long, and that Gods mercies, as *Luther* saith, are a Center, but his wrath an infinite Spheare. Hence do Gods servants in a publique calamitie expostulate with the Lord in these sad termes, *Wherefore dost thou forsake us for ever? why hast thou left us to the length of daies? and will the Lord absent himselfe for ever. And will he have no more compassion on us.* Because we are only taken up with the present evil; men heare nothing, see nothing, feele nothing but the present evil, whereas in truth his wrath holds but a minute of time and is as a center, but his mercies are a spirituall Spheare without end of daies.

4. Ezek. 4.4.

Ioh. 16.16. 1 Pet. 5.10. Rom. 16.20. Isa. 54.9.

Heb. 10.37. *Ruffin. l. 1. hist. 3. c. 34.*

Lam. 5.20. Psal. 13.1, 2. & 77.8, 9, 10. *Luther. in Isa. 54. cap.*

A hard service, yea a base servitude may be well endured a few yeares, and so will our short afflictions, if we consider wel what good they do produce, when they are Christianly endured, even a weight of glorie; were a man a galley Slave under the cruel Turke seven yeares with full assurance, that he should have after they were expired a temporal Kingdome, he would undergoe it willingly, and choose rather to be a slave on those termes then to

be a free-man without them. *I am sure* (saith one) *he could be contented every day to endure the torments of hell for a long time, so that afterwards he might see Christ in glory, and be associated to the Saints in happinesse*; If we would in our serious cogitations run thorough the streets of the heavenly *Jerusalem*, if we would visit the Patriarkes, Prophets, Apostles, Martyrs, and all departed Saints, and behold the crowne of everlasting glory, which the Lord hath in his hands to set upon our heads, this would enable us to demeane our selves as Christians ought to do in this our conflict, and the meditation hereof would be as the salt of the Prophet cast into the bitter waters of *Jericho*, it would doubtlesse sweeten them were they never so bitter to us.

Augustin. in Manuali, c. 15.

5. 5. Labour to have thankfull hearts to God in regard of the good issue, joyfull fruit, and pleasant benefit of afflictions; afflictions to Gods people are like a waspe, which hath lost her sting, she makes a noyse to waken us or to keepe us watchfull, and by Gods blessing a stinging serpent is turned into a flourishing rod; and to speake the truth, we are as much beholding to the Lords afflictions as to his comforts. Afflictions are a holy vomit which the Lord gives to purge out our sinnes, which in taste is better at first, yet gives it ease at last, and is cleane contrary to the booke which S. *John* was commanded to rule, which was in his mouth sweet as honey, but in his bowels like bitter gall; the Heathen people which are without God and without Christ are thankfull for their lives, health, successe, prosperitie, but Christians are bound to out-strip the Heathen, which know not God in Christ, and they much savour God in all his workes: And therefore it followeth that God is to be praised for them; and a Doctour of our Church, now with God, sets downe a false rule on his text, *In all things be thankefull*. Whatsoever is no fit matter for prayer, is no fit matter for thankesgiving, *That we may pray for crosses, I find not* (saith he) *warranted by any Scripture, nor practised by any Saint*: to wave that assertion, albeit particularly we have no warrant to pray for crosses; yet indefinitely and generally we may pray for all the furtherances of grace and glorie, referring the particulars to our wise and loving God, who will turne all things we are sure to the good of those which love him, and so by consequence and implicitely, wee pray for afflictions, if it shall seeme good

Apoc. 10. 10.

Ps. 145. 10.

D. Sl. on 1 Thes. 5. 18.

Rom. 8. 28.

good to the Lord to send them for our good, and upon this undoubted ground, it followeth, that the former rule of that learned man is not sound, for a man ought particularly to be thankfull to God, when his will by the event is manifested to us, as now in my case it is, for what it was not lawfull for him particularly to pray for, when Gods will was unknowne unto him. We take bitter physicke from the hands of our Physitians, and we suffer Chyrurgeons to search our wounds, and we usually thanke them and bountifully reward them too; If the vine, the fruit whereof cheareth the heart of man, could speake to the Gardiner who pruneth it, would it not thanke him for cutting it, though it be not done without effusion of teares? I have read that the *Persian* Nobles counted it an exceeding great grace to be scourged by their Prince, and thanked him that he would take paines with them; and shall not we much more praise the divine Majestie, that he vouchsafeth to chasten us for our good. Wee would have alwaies prosperitie, but the Lord knows it, and we by experience may see it, that affliction is often better for us. *Plinie* a Heathen man tooke our this lesson from his sicke friend; We rebell (saith he) when we are sickly. What sick man is tempted with covetousnesse and lust? He is not subject to love, not greedie of honour—he envies no man, he admires no man, he despiseth no man, maligant speeches neither winne his attention, nor please his inclination; What Philosophers labour to teach us in many words, yea in many volumes, I can comprehend in this short precept, let us continue such men in our health, as we promised to be in our sicknesse. And *Tatianus* an ancient Father reports that this was one fruit of the persecution of the Primitive Church, that not only men and women, but virgines and maids as they were spinning, were wont to be talking of the word of God, edified one another by instruction, a rare thing then it was for Christians to denie or contemne the word of God, to be drunkards, adulterers or to tell a lie: Then might we have seene (saith S. *Chrysostome*) good Christians, for no man respected his wealth, no man respected his countrie, no man respected wife, no man respected his children in comparison of Christ, all their care was to save their soules. And speaking of his own time when religion was countermanded by authoritie, he saith, let a man en-

D. Featley, Ser. 26.

Plin. Iun. l. 7. Epist. 26. Maxime.

Tatianus. Cent. Magd. 2. p. 122.

Chrysost Hom. 40 ad pop. Antioch.

Idem Homil. 8. ad pop. Antioch.

ter into the house of those that marry, & into the houses of mourners; into the prisons and theaters, into banquetting houses and hospitals of the sicke, and observe the great difference betwixt their severall carriages: What lightnesse (saith he) irreligion and profanenesse shall he see in the one, what prayer, devotion, holy conferences and other religious exercises shall he observe in the other; and as crosses are a means to make us better, so thankfulnes to God is a meanes to ease us in our crosses, when once we come to see that they are died and sanctified in the passion of Christ, and begin to blesse God, our evils will be mitigated; let any man make tryall hereof (saith *Luther*) and he shall presently finde ease, as I have often found it true by mine owne experience. He cannot feele afflictions, saith *Chrysostome*, which in his afflictions praiseth God. The devill is disgraced, God is honoured, and nothing is more holy then that tongue which in adversity gives thankes to God, verily it is not inferiour to the tongue of Martyrs. Sithence this is so, and a truth not to be denied, we ought to be thankfull to God for all crosses.

Luther. pro laborant. Spirit. 7.

Luther. in Psal. 18.

Chrysost. homil. post redit. prioris exilij.

6. In all your crosses set your faces the right way; do not you in your sicknesse cry, come physicke helpe us, in heavinesse call not, come musicke, merry companions comfort us; in warre, cry not, come souldiers helpe us: much lesse doe you in your distresse repaire to the professed instruments of the devill for help by such meanes which are superstitiously ceremonies, and in regard of belieue prerequired to their efficacy idolatrous; these are the seduction of Satan, the irrision of devils, the dreggs of idolatry, the infatuation of soules, and the scandall of hearts, as a counterfeit *Origen* saith well. Goe not I say to the meanes under God without God, as the *Israelites* in their wants went to *Moses* give us, say those rebels, water; as *Rachel* went to *Iacob*, *Give me children or else I die*, as the Iewes went to the Egyptians to strengthen themselves, trusting in the shadow of Egypt; but this is idolatry, which robs God of his glory, and steales away the heart from the Lord, as *Absalom* did the peoples from allegiance to King *David*, and thus doe the Papists by an unmannerly profanenesse, which makes them guilty of unthankfulnesse and disobedience, goe to Angels and Saints, which they have proper for every infirmitie, as the Heathen people had gods for every disease.

Orig. l. 3. in Iob

Isa. 30. 2.

Plin Natur. histor. l. 21. 7.

The

The truth is all the meanes in the world may say, as the King of *Israel* did to a distressed woman, which cried to him for helpe, *If the Lord helpe thee not, how should I helpe thee?* 2 King. 6. 17.

Let us then my brethren goe to our God, as the Saints before us in the depth of their misery have done, and visit him not using fretfull complaints, but with groanes powring out our prayers into his eares, for he hath not onely kindly invited us, but peremptorily commanded us so to do. Pray I beseech you that God would uphold you being under any crosse with his assisting grace: You are in Gods hands as a staffe is in yours; if he holds you up, then you stand; if he lets his hold goe, then doe you fall; prayer is συνεσία καὶ ἕνωσις, a familiar conversation and conjunction of man with God; by prayer we doe converse with God, and so doe submit to his holy will, if we respect the efficacie of prayer, it is the reconciliation of God (saith the same Father) it is the bridg to passe over temptation; it is the fortresse of afflictions, the destruction of warre, the axe of desperation, the demonstration of hope, the solution of sorrow and the diminution of anger. Psa. 50. 19. *Climacus. Scala Paradis. gradu.* 38.

Prayer must be alwayes, and in your afflictions most of all your companion; it must travell with you by day, awake by night with you, it must not forsake you in sicknesse or in health, on the sea or on the land, living nor dying. *David* prayed in his afflictions, and so did *Iob*, and Christ did so, and St *James* exhorts all afflicted men to doe so: fervent prayer will have no deniall, yea it so farre prevaileth with the Lord of all the world, that with reverence be it spoken, he is contented to be commanded by us, הָאוּנִי, and to be, as it were, at the service of our prayers, insomuch that I dare boldly say, there was never City of refuge more free for man-slayers, never holes in the rocks more open for the Doves, never was lap of a mother more ready to receive her crying babe, then are the eares of a compassionate God open to heare the cryes of his children; the Lord that rules our hearts, if we pray will over-rule them in all the crosses which doe befall us to submit to his holy will. Ps. 130. 1. Iob 16. 20. Hebr. 5. 7. Iam. 5. 13. Isa. 45. 12.

Be perswaded thoroughly of the little worth, of the emptines, of the uncertainty and insufficiency of all outward things. These are the lame legs, whereon all worldly things do stand, all worldly comforts leave us in our extremities, and are like rotten stakes

and flags, which men being ready to sinke do catch at: these help them not, these beare them not above water, but are drawn down under water with them.

If we consider well of the vanity of all creatures, as of riches, friends, of our own bodies and all their adjuncts, then shall not we expect any great matters from them, nor immoderately be disquieted for the losse or impairing of them: 'Tis an excellent rule which the Apostle gives, *They that have Wives, let them be as though they had none; and they that weepe as though they wept not, and they that rejoyce as though they rejoyced not.* As if he should have said, in your affections and actions about these things, carry your selves very indifferently, as if you were minding or doing some thing else: use the World as a traveller doth his Inne, his table, bed, not with a purpose to abide there, to set up his rest there, but shortly to leave them; or as a man holdeth money committed to his custody, readie every houre, when it is called for to restore it to the owner. Wouldst thou refrain from immoderate grief in losses, rejoyce not therein too much in outward blessing: Be not too glad when the Sunne shines, and you will not be too sad, when the eye of the world is under a cloud.

1 Cor. 7. 29.

August. tract. 20. in Iohan.

If our hearts be weaned from the love of this world, if the best things, for which our souls were created, redeemed and sanctified be in request with us, we shall not be dejected for the things of this world. It is a rule in *Opticks*, the higher you ascend upward, the greater will heavenly things seeme to be, and these earthly things will seeme the lesser, and so it is in our spirituall ascension, the more heavenly minded we are, the greater will heavenly beauty appeare to us, and the lesser will all earthly things seeme to be in our eyes; when we doe then immoderately complaine and say thus, I thought to have found such and such comfort in my children, to instance in them only; what doth this argue but that we over-prized these blessings, and promised to our selves too great matters from them; yea and by doting on them, and lifting up our souls to them, as the words are in the originall, making them the desire and joy of our hearts, do move the Lord justly to deprive us of them, and so we are in the losse of them ready to mourn without measure, and complain as *Micah* did of the children of *Dan*, *Ye have taken away my gods, the things I made my idols, and what have I more?*

Ezek. 24. 25.

Iud. 18. 24.

We reade that when ſome admired at the goodly building of the Temple, that our Saviour mildly checked them, and in effect ſaid, *Are theſe the things which you behold? I tell you the time will come when all that glorious fabrique ſhall be demoliſhed, and one ſtone ſhall not be left upon another*: So ſay I to you (my brethren) are your children and riches the things you looke will prove never fading fountains of comfort to you. I tell you, you deceive your ſelves, and you ſhall finde them dried up like *Iobs* brooke in Summer, when you have the greateſt need of them. We ſee how the *Iewes* were deceived, needs would they go down to *Egypt*, where they promiſed peace unto themſelves, that they ſhould ſee no more warre, nor have hunger of bread: Thus did thoſe rebellious Jewes perſwade themſelves; but what ſaith the Lord, *The Sword which you feared, ſhall overtake you there, you ſhall die of the famine and of the peſtilence, and none of you ſhall remain.* Thus are the wicked fruſtrated of their expectation, yea and good men too; many times thoſe things from which we promiſed to our ſelves the greateſt comforts, prove the greateſt croſſes to us. God in his juſt judgement makes them barren like beautifull *Sarah*, they do not yeeld us that contentment which we expected from them, and that is for our own good, leſt our affections ſhould be placed more on the creature, then on the Creatour bleſſed for ever. Luk. 21. 6, 7. Jer. 42. 14.

Laſtly, Have a lively faith in the Lord our Saviour, *The juſt ſhall live by faith*, and that comfortably in deſpight of any oppoſition; faith will carry a man above all fears, and above the reach of all enemies, yea faith will ſupply all wants; if we be poor, it will enrich us; if in ſtraits, it will enlarge us; if weak, it will ſtrengthen us; if we be full of ſorrow, it will make us rejoyce; if we be dead, it will quicken us; live by faith and you ſhall live chearfully and comfortably in the ſaddeſt condition that can befal you, and if thou art overcome by afflictions, I will ſay it is for want of faith that thou art overcome; faith is an antidote againſt the plague, the afflicted mans comfort, and a bleſſed tryumph in and over all troubles: Put caſe thou art a poor man, art not thou rich enough, when the Lord is thy portion? Put caſe thou art an exiled man, is not this comfort enough, that God is with thee in baniſhment? Put caſe thou art a deſpiſed man, is it not enough for thee that the Lord reſpects thee? Believe and thou ſhalt in all eſtates have happineſſe enough 8. Hebr. 10. 38. 1 Cor. 10. 13.

nough without the happin[illegible] of the world: he is the happiest man that can live alone without externall comforts, that can be content with God alone; a strong man needeth not these crutches to go withall, nor a healthfull man the assistance of friends to raise and
Psal. 84.11. hold him up. God is a Sun, if he shines on us it is day, yea such a joyfull day; if he sets, 'tis night to us, though all the stars, all creatures shine on us.

Let us therefore (my brethren) lay fast hold on Gods promises by faith; these are firme grounds to build upon, and strong posts to support our faith. The Judge of all the world moderates and bounds, and saith to every calamity as to the Sea, *Hither shalt thou*
Job 38.11. *come, and no further, and here shall thy proud waves be staied*; and he knows our strength, and wil not suffer our enemies to fight against us with greater temptations then we be able to beare: 'tis a speciall art of faith to lay hold on God, when there is no helpe on earth to lift up our hearts to heaven; and then to put the most terrible supposition, albeit the foundations of the earth should totter, and mens hearts should quaile for feare, though the powers of heaven should be shaken, and nothing could be expected but lamentable
Ps. 126.20. times, yet might we lift up our hearts with joy, there is a river of God that will refresh us, and there are chambers of divine protection for a Christian to enter into: 'tis the glory of our faith to looke on our miseries that we can looke beyond them, and to see with faithfull *Israel* the land of promise through the red sea, the wilderneſſe, Giants and walled cities; and with patient Job to see a Redeemer, and a resurrection thorough ulcers, discomforts of friends, his wife, through the malice of Satan and through the seeming wrath of his God; to see with *Steven* Christ standing at Gods right hand thorough a showre of stones, yea the sweet rayes of Gods favour through the thickest clouds of his wrath.

FINIS.

A 29

Modeſt & Brotherly ANSVVER

To Mr. CHARLES HERLE his Book, againſt the Independency of Churches.

Wherein his foure Arguments for the Government of Synods over particular Congregations, are friendly Examined, and clearly Anſwered.

Together, with Chriſtian and Loving Animadverſions upon ſundry other obſervable paſſages in the ſaid BOOKE.

All tending to declare the true uſe of Synods, and the power of Congregationall Churches in the points of electing and ordaining their owne Officers, and cenſuring their Offendors.

By RICHARD MATHER *Teacher of the Church at* Dorcheſter; *And* WILLIAM TOMPSON *Paſtor of the Church at* Braintree *in* NEW-ENGLAND.

Sent from thence after the Aſſembly of Elders were diſſolved that laſt met at *Cambridg* to debate matters about *Church-government.*

March 15 1643
London, Printed for *Henry Overton* in *Popes-head alley*, 1644.

Reverend and Deare Sir,

THe right forme of Church Government being more ſearched into of late time then formerly, and your ſelf amongſt others having written for the governing power, or juriſdiction of Synods, over particular Churches: We therfore knowing our ſelves bound as well as others, to try all things, and hold faſt that which is good, have conſidered as the Lord hath holpen us; thoſe Arguments of yours which are contained in your Book, againſt the Indepency of Churches; and not being ſatisfied therewith, your Book being publiſhed in Print; we have therfore thought meet, in like ſort to publiſh our Anſwer, and in that way to ſhew unto your ſelf and others, what yet hinders us, that we do not think your Arguments to be convincing. In which attempt we have bin the more encouraged by your profeſſion (which we dare not but believe) that in what you have written, you have aimed at verity, and not at victory, wherof we are the rather perſwaded, becauſe we do perceive your whole diſcourſe to be carried along without paſſion and bitterneſſe, in a ſpirit of meekneſſe and love, which alſo we are willing to acknowledge before all men, to your juſt commendation, and the glory of that grace of God that gives you ſuch an heart. And it is our hope, that ſith you profeſſe to aim at the truth, and do diſpute with ſuch a ſpirit, as if you meant ſo indeed; that therfore it will not be unacceptable to you, if any weakneſſe be diſcovered in thoſe grounds wheron you build this perſwaſion, that in the preſent Queſtion, the truth doth ſtand on your ſide. And as your Book doth breathe forth a ſpirit

of meekneſſe, ingenuity and love; ſo we hope you will find, that we have aimed at the like in our Anſwer; which as we have written and now publiſhed it for the truths ſake; and for the help of thoſe that cannot attaine unto larger, and more learned Treatiſes about this Subject; So in ſpeciall manner in love to your ſelf, and our deare Country men & friends, as in other places of Lancaſhire, *ſo in your Pariſh of* Winwick, *wherin one of us was born, and the other was for ſundry Years together an unworthy Miniſter of the Goſpel of Chriſt. Accept therfore we doe beſeech you, this brotherly labour of ours, which here we ſend you, divided into theſe few* Chapters. *We are alſo willing upon this occaſion, to teſtifie our thankfullnes for that loving reſpect which we found from you, when we lived together in that Country; when you were pleaſed to own us in our ſad times. The Father of mercies be with you, and with all thoſe that love the truth in ſincerity; and bleſſe that Reverend and Grave* Aſſembly, *whereof we hear your ſelf are a Member, that by their wiſe and holy indeavours, the truth may be cleared, and all corruptions removed in the Doctrine, Worſhip, and Church Government in* ENGLAND, *to his praiſe and glory; and the comfort of all thoſe who unfainedly deſire that the Crowne of* Chriſt Ieſus, *and the Scepter of the Son of* God, *may be gloriouſly advanced over all; which is the prayer of*

Your Loving Brethren,

RICHARD MATHER,
and
WILLIAM TOMPSON.

A Modeſt and Brotherly

ANSWER

TO

Mr. CHARLES HERLE

His BOOKE againſt the Independency of CHURCHES.

CHAPT. I.

Containing Obſervations upon ſundry paſſages in your ſtating the Queſtion.

THE *Independants (ſay you) deny to a Synod as the name of a Church, ſo all manner of power of juriſdiction, either to determine,—, or any way oblige ſuch as they ſhall any way repreſent.* pag. 2.

Unleſſe it could be proved that in Scripture the name of a Church is given to a Synod, we are not to blamed, though we give not a Synod that name, ſith we are commanded to hold faſt the paterne of the wholſome words of Scripture, as ſufficient, 2 Tim. 1. 13. though for this we will not contend. But for power to determine, viz. dogmatically, or by way of doctrine, this we deny not to a Synod: For that Synod, Act. 15. did put forth ſuch power, and we acknowledge other Synods may doe the like upon like occaſion, and their determinations being according to the Scripture, ought to bind all thoſe whom they repreſent.

They acknowledge that neighbour Churches may meet and conſult, and adviſe each other,— and withdraw all fellowſhip from any one that ſhall grow pertinaciouſly ſcandalous. pag. 2.

And you may adde further, that by their meſſengers being met in a Synod they may determine by the Scriptures any matter of controverſie that may ariſe.

But for matter of juriſdiction or power of the Keyes in excommunication, ordination, or whatever Cenſure, they hold it is entirely and onely in every ſingle Congregation, though but of 2 or 3 beleevers. p. 2.

If any hold ſo ſmall a number as 2 or 3 to be a Church ſo compleat, as to have power of excommunication, ordination and whatever Cenſure, they may if they ſee cauſe declare their grounds for ſo holding. But for our parts for ought we yet ſee, a Church that hath ſuch power as is here ſpoken of, had need to be a greater number then two or three, even ſo many as ſhall be neceſſary and requiſite for the carrying on of Church-worke, in admonition and reprehenſion of one another, as there ſhall be cauſe, and therfore they had need to be ſeaven or more. For a Brother that ſinneth muſt ſo be dealt withall for his recovery, that if he remain impenitent, the proceeding againſt him is ſtill to goe on by degrees, till at laſt the matter be brought unto the Church, *Mat.* 18. 15, 16. 17. But in all the degrees of proceeding againſt him, the perſons before whom he is called, are in every latter ſtep and degree more in number, then they were in the former, and ſo the Church being the laſt is the greateſt number of all. And yet there are three at the leaſt that muſt be acquainted with the matter, before it muſt be brought unto the Church, *viz.* the brother offending, the brother offended, and one witneſſe at the leaſt; ſo that the Church conſiſting of thoſe three or foure that deal in the matter before it come into the Church, and of another number greater then they, and diſtinct from them to whom the matter is brought in the laſt place muſt needs conſiſt of ſeaven perſons, or more. As for that ſpeech of our Saviour, where he ſpeaks of 2 or 3 gathered together in his Name, *Mat.* 18. 20. He doth not thereby acknowledge ſuch a ſmall number to be a Church; but fetcheth an argument from thence as from the leſſer or leſſe probable, to prove the firm and inviolable authority of the Church and her Cenſures, of which he had ſpoken before v. 18. As if he ſhould ſay, if two agreeing together upon earth ſhalbe heard in whatſoever they ſhall aske, and if I be preſent with two or three gathered in my name, then much more ſhall the whole Church, who is a greater number,

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and a more ſolemne aſſembly be heard in their prayers, and have Chriſts preſence in the midſt of them, to bind and looſe in heaven what they ſhall bind or looſe in earth. But the former is true, verſ. 19. 20 Therefore the latter is true alſo verſ. 18.

And for excommunication, ordination and cenſures, there is nothing in Scripture nor proved in this diſcourſe of yours, that theſe matters belong onely to a Synod, and not to a particular congreation; yea wee conceive it will not bee eaſie for any man whatſoever toprove, that Synods, and they onely have power to ordain officers, and to excommunicate offenders; and till this be proved, the Independants (as you call them) need not to relinquiſh their judgement and practice in theſe particulars. Sure it is, that Synod in *Acts* 15. did neither meddle with ordination nor excommunication, but onely determined the controverſie about circumciſion, and gave rules for practice to be obſerved of the beleeving Gentiles, for avoiding of offence among the Jewes.

We acknowledge that where there is no conſociation or neighbourhood of congregations or ſingle Churches whereby they may with conveniency be aiding to each other —— and whereto the particulars may have recourſe —— there a ſingle congregation muſt not be denied antireneſſe of juriſdiction.

If you acknowledge thus much, (which yet is no more then truth requires to be acknowledged, and wherin we for our parts, fully concurre with you) then we ſuppoſe a man may improve this grant of yours to a confirmation of that independencie of Churches which you plead againſt and to a diſproving of a good part of that authority of Synods which you would eſtabliſh. For if a Church that hath no neighbourhood of other Churches; have power of juriſdiction entirely within it ſelfe (as here you doe acknowledge) then firſt let it be conſidered whence ſuch a Church hath ſuch power, and ſee if that ground will not reach to prove the like power in other Churches alſo. Now we ſuppoſe none will deny, but ſuch a Church hath this authority or power by the gift of Chriſt, and the liberty which he hath granted to every Church as it is a Church, which we had rather expreſſe in Doctor *Ames* his words, then in our own. The power

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it ſelfe (namely, in reproving ſcandals, and purging out the wicked) of right, or in reſpect of the firſt act, cannot be ſeparated from a true Church: Becaute it flows immediately and neceſſarily from its very eſſence; For it is contained in that Covenant, whereby beleevers are gathered into a Church. *Caſ. Conſ. lib.* 4. *cap.* 24. Q. 4. Now if this be ſo, that power of Juriſdiction doth immediately and neceſſarily flow from the very eſſence of a Church, and ſo belongs to a Church, as it is a Church, then it will follow that this power muſt not be granted to be in ſuch a Church as hath no neighbour Churches, and be denied unto one that hath: becauſe a Church that hath neighbours is a Church, and hath the eſſence of a Church, as truly as that which hath none. Power of Juriſdiction flowing immediately from the eſſence of a Church belongs indifferently to all Churches, to one as much as to another, without reſpect of what neighbours they have, whether many, or few, whether any or none. Secondly, let it be conſidered alſo what is the end and uſe of the conſociation and neighbourhood of Churches, and the ſame truth will thence appeare alſo; which neighbourhood where it is affoorded is from the benefit of Churches, but not for their hindrance and loſſe; And therefore it may be helpfull by caſting in more light, but cannot abridge them of any power which they had before. When Doctor *Ames* (*Medul. Theol. l.* 1. *c.* 39. *Sect.* 27.) had ſaid that the combination of Churches into Claſſes and Synods, doth neither conſtitute a new forme of the Church, nor ought by any means to take away or impaire that libertie and power, which Chriſt hath left unto his Churches, ſith it ſerveth onely for the directing and furthering of the ſame, what ſaith Mr. *Paget* hereunto? This, ſaith he, we willingly grant (*Paget. Defence. pa.* 107.) Now if this muſt be granted, then that dependencie of Churches, and that power of Synods which you plead for muſt not be granted; For let a Church have entireneſſe of Juriſdiction before ſhe have any neighbouring Churches, and be deprived of the power when God ſends ſuch neighbours, and by this meanes ſhe ſuſtaines loſſe by having neighbours, and comes to be in this reſpect in worſe condition, then when ſhe had none; which is againſt the true intent and uſe of the conſociation of Churches.

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Moreover, if this grant of yours ſtand good, then what ſhall become of that which is intimated, pag. 6. and pa. 10. as a reaſon againſt the Independency of Congregations? where, you ſay, *that it is againſt the very light of nature, that the adverſe party be the ſole Judge, and party too in the cauſe; and that it is againſt all equity that the offended party (meaning the Congregation) ſhould be the ſole and finall Judge of the offence?* Sure we cannot think that there can be ſuch a caſe imagined wherein you would grant it lawfull for a ſingle Congregation to do that which is againſt all equity and the very light of nature. And yet you grant that the caſe may be ſuch that a ſingle Congregation may have entireneſſe of juriſdiction within it ſelf; which ſeems to us plainly to prove, that for a Congregation to be ſo independent, as to be the finall Judge of offences within it ſelf, is not againſt all equity, nor againſt the light of nature, as is intimated by you in the pages afore-mentioned. But ſith in one place you grant that in ſome caſe a Congregation may have entireneſſe of Juriſdiction within it ſelf, and in another place do ſeem to imply that it is againſt all equity, and the light of nature, that they ſhould be granted, we for our parts are not able to diſcern how theſe things do ſtand together.

But that too much may not be made of the grant of yours, you do qualifie it in your ſubſequent words; wherein you ſay, that *this is a caſe extraordinarie, and falls not within the compaſſe of the Queſtion, which is about the ordinarie rule of Church-government*; Whereunto we anſwer two things. 1 That for a Chriſtian Congregation to want neighbour Congregations, to whom they may with convenience have recourſe, is not ſo unuſuall, as ſome may imagine: ſpecially if the ſtate of things, in times and places of generall perſecution, of generall prophaneneſſe, and of new plantations in heathen Countreys be conſidered. For at thoſe times, and in thoſe places, it is well, if there be any ſuch Congregations at all to be found (as there was one in London, in the dayes of Queen *Mary*) but it is not like there ſhould be ſo many of them, that any one may have many neighbour ones, to have recourſe unto. And your ſelf do intimate in page 43 of your book, that in the remoter part of Wales, and of the North, ſuch Congregations even at this day, would be ſo rare, that in all probability, ſcarce one could be made up in twentie or thirty miles compaſſe. 2 Suppoſe the caſe were extraordinarie and rare, would you ſay that therefore they may

violate the ordinarie rules appointed by Christ for Church administrations, and now lawfully exercise Jurisdiction entirely within themselves, which if they had neighbours were unlawfull for them to do? We suppose it is good to take heed how farre we yeeld it lawfull in such extraordinarie cases, to transgresse and violate ordinarie rules; least some body do thereupon inferre that though according to ordinarie rules Baptisme and the Lords Supper must be dispensed onely by men, and by Ministers, yet in the want of these, the one may be dispensed by a woman, (suppose the Midwife or some other) and both of them by such as are no Ministers. For as you excuse the lawfulnesse of entirenesse of Jurisdiction in a single Congregation, even so may they excuse these dispensations here mentioned, by saying that the case is extraordinarie, and fals not within the compasse of the Question, which is, what persons by ordinarie rule may dispense Sacraments; Wherefore for ought we yet see it is more safe to hold, that sith the dispensation of Baptisme and the Lords Supper, by ordinarie rules belongs onely to Ministers, therefore there can be no such extraordinarie case, in these dayes, wherein the dispensing of them may lawfully be performed by others whether women or men: And sith entirenesse of Jurisdiction must not be denied to a Congregation that wants neighbours, therefore the thing is agreeable unto ordinary rules; and so may be allowed in other cases also. Because the administration of Sacraments, fore-mentioned, is not allowable by ordinarie rules, therefore the extraordinarinesse of the case will not make it lawfull; And because the independent Jurisdiction of a Congregation is lawfull in the case afore-mentioned, which you call extraordinarie; Therefore the same is allowable by ordinarie rule.

There ought to be Synods or Assemblies —— with larger power of the keyes to make Decrees, ordain Pastors, excommunicate members, or Congregations, pag. 2.

Answ. That there ought to be Synods when occasion requires, we freely grant; but the Question is not about their being, but about their power; Wherein, that they have power to ordain and excommunicate any, we do not yet see it proved. But that they should excommunicate whole Congregations, as here is affirmed, seemeth to us to be altogether impossible; For a Congregation being a Church, it hath communion within it self, out of which it

cannot

cannot be caſt, no more then caſt out it ſelf. *Amer. Caſ. Conſc. lib.* 4. *cap.* 29. *&* 11.

Yet ſo as in every ſingle Congregation, there be left a power, of publick reprehenſion, and if need be, of ſuſpenſion of its own members from the Lords table; And in caſe upon ſuch appeal to the Synod, there appear no difficulty in the matter, or partialitie in the carriage of it, it is (if between Members of one Congregation) rather to be remitted to the Congregation it ſelf, to be there cenſured and ended. pa. 2. *&* 3.

This is not much leſſe, then a clear granting of the whole Cauſe, for here is expreſly left to the Congregation not onely power of publick reprehenſion, but alſo power of ſuſpenſion from the Lords table, yea, and in ſome caſe power of cenſuring and ending matters within themſelves, having firſt conſulted and adviſed with the Synod: which courſe in matters of difficulty and weight, we for our parts acknowledge very meet to be taken when Synods can be had, and when they cannot, yet in ſuch caſes of weight, it is fit to conſult with neighbour Churches.

Church government miniſteriall Independents ſay is equally and fully in every Congregation. pa. 3.

Anſw. That it is equally in one, as much as in another, your ſelf do often grant, though not equally in one as much as in all: And for fulneſſe, when a Church is furniſhed with a Presbytery within it ſelf, by whom the Church ſhould be governed, then we know no reaſon, but yours may be owned alſo.

Above and beſides which (namely, the ſingle Congregation) there is no miniſterially governing Church, by any means they ſay to be admitted. pag. 3.

Anſw. If the Presbytery of a Congregation may be called a Church, then ſith they do admit the governing power of the Preſbyterie, they do admit a governing Church, beſide the Congregation, if by Congregation you mean the whole multitude of the Members; And if a Synod may be called a Church, and if power by diſputation and diſquiſition to clear up the rule, and then to command obedience thereto, may be called government, then they alſo admit a Synod to be a governing Church: For the power here mentioned they do allow unto Synods. But it ſeems to us that the power is not properly a power and exerciſe of government and Juriſdiction, but a power of Doctrine, and ſo a Synod is rather a teaching then a governing Church. But that any other

Church, be it Synod, or any other beſides the Congregation and its Presbyterie, ſhould have ſuch a governing power above the Congregation and the Presbyterie thereof, as that neither the Congregation nor its Presbyterie may ordain their own Officers, nor excommunicate their own offendors, but both muſt be done by that other governing Church; This we do not admit indeed, becauſe hitherto, we have ſeen no convincing proofs for the ſame.

All and every member hath (ſay they) a governing power, as of ordaining their Paſtors and Officers, ſo of depoſing and excommunicating —. pa. 3.

Governing properly ſo called, we acknowledge not in any, but in the Elders alone. 1 *Cor.* 12. 28. *Rom.* 12. 8. *Hebr.* 13. 17. If that word be aſcribed to the people, it muſt be underſtood in a more improper ſence, for that which in propriety of ſpeech were more fitly called Liberty or Priviledge. And yet the liberty when it is exerciſed about Ordination, Depoſition, Excommunication, is of the whole body *Communiter*, or in generall, but not of all and everie member in particular, as you conceive us to hold; for women and children are members, and yet are not to act in ſuch matters, the one being debarred by their ſex, and the other for want of underſtanding and diſcretion.

We acknowledge that Paſtors and other Officers were anciently, and it is to be wiſhed, they ſtill were choſen (at leaſt conſented to) by the members of each reſpective Congregation. p. 3.

By [*anciently*] we ſuppoſe you mean, in the Primitive, and Apoſtolick times; And if in theſe times they were choſen by the Congregation, what warrant can there be to take another courſe in theſe dayes; ſith the ancient pattern of Scripture in matters of this nature is a commandment that ought to be kept till the appearing of Jeſus Chriſt. 1 *Tim.* 6. 13, 14. &c.

But they are to be ordained in a Synod onely —.

That a Synod hath the power, we would gladly ſee it proved by the Word. But if theſe things may be done by a Synod onely and not elſewhere, then how will that ſtand which you granted in the page afore, that in ſome caſe a ſingle Congregation may have entireneſſe of Juriſdiction within it ſelf? To be done by a Synod onely, and to be done by a ſingle Congregation entirely within it ſelf, are not eaſie for us to reconcile. Further, if Synods conſiſt, as you ſay, of Presbyteries and other Commiſſioners, then there muſt be Presbyters afore there can be Synods; and thence it muſt

muſt follow that all Presbyters are not ordained by Synods, but ſome by other men. If it be ſaid though the Presbyters, whereof the particular Synod conſiſteth, were not ordained by the Synod, but were Presbyters before this Synod had any being, yet they might be ordained by a former Synod; The anſwer is that this doth not remove the difficultie. For ſtill it would be enquired how the Presbyters of that former Synod, and ſo of the firſt Synod that ever was, how they came to be Presbyters: Sure if the firſt Synod conſiſted of Presbyters, then there were Presbyters before there was any Synod, and ſo Presbyters have been lawfully ordained, and not by a Synod.

In a Synod where all the ultimate power of Decrees and Cenſures reſides—.

Anſw. By power of Decrees, we underſtand Power to clear up the truth dogmatically, for the word tranſlated decrees is *dogmata* in the originall, *Act.* 16.4. And this power we confeſſe is in a Synod, though not all in the Synod alone, but alſo in the Presbyterie of a ſingle Congregation. But for power of Cenſures, this we do not ſee to be in the Synod at all; much leſſe, that it doth all reſide in the Synod, and not elſewhere. But when you ſay, all the ultimate power of theſe things doth reſide in a Synod (though you do imply by the word ultimate that matters ought not to be perpetually depending, but in ſome Judicatory or other be brought unto their ultimate or laſt period, and concluſion, wherein we concurre with you, yet neverthelesſe) your meaning is not ſufficiently expreſſed, what Synod this ſhould be that ſhould have this ultimate power. For you know there are divers ſorts of Synods, ſome particular which are called Claſſes, ſome Provinciall, ſome Nationall, and ſome generall, or Oecumenicall Synods; And we ſhould be glad to know, which of all theſe it is in whom the ultimate power of theſe things doth reſide, and why it may not reſide in any of the reſt; yea and why the ultimate power of cenſures may not reſide in the Congregation, as well as in any of them.

Whether it be neceſſarie to the well being of a ſingle Church or Congregation, that where it ſtands in neighbourhood with other Churches, it be equally and mutually coordinated with the reſt, in a dependance on the miniſteriall government of a Synod? This they deny, and we affirm. pa. 4.

Anſ. By miniſteriall government of a Synod; you meane, a Governing power of ordaining Paſtors for Congregations, and of excommunicating offendors; for ſo you deſcribe the power of Sy-

nods, pag. 3. and pag. 2. where you say that Pastors are to be ordained, deposed, excommunicated by a Synod onely; And that Synods have a larger power of the keyes to make Decrees, ordain Pastors, and excommunicate Members, or Congregations; So that the Question is: Whether it be necessarie to the well-being of a single Congregation that hath neighbours, so to depend, on the government of Synods, as that a Synod onely and not the Congregation, must ordain their Pastors, and excommunicate offendors: Which being the state of the Question, we are content to joyn issue with you, upon the same; And to hear your Arguments for the affirmative part.

CHAP. II.

Containing an Answer to your first Argument taken from the manner of Government, in the Jewish Church, laid down. Deut. 17. 8,9,10. 2 Chron. 19. 8.10,11. Psal. 122.4,5.

THat the Government of the Jewish Church was by Gods institution nationall, and dependent, as it clearly appears by the above mentioned Texts, so it is fully confessed by Mr. Aynsworth, *Mr.* Davenport, *Mr.* Canne, *Mr.* Robinson, *and generally all Judgements. pag.* 4.

Answ. In some of the places of these Authors which you direct us unto in your Margent, which we have looked upon, we can find no such Confession as here you do report of them. It may be the pages are mis-printed. But what they do confesse or not confesse, we will not stand long to enquire, such of them as are yet alive, may answer for themselves, if they see cause: But it shall suffice us, to consider the weight of the Argument it self, which we suppose being put into form must run thus, or to the like purpose.

As the Congregations in Israel were dependent, so must congregations be in these dayes.

But Congregations in Israel were dependent on the Ministeriall government of a Synod:

Therefore Congregations in these dayes must be dependent on the Ministeriall government of a Synod.

Indeed in your prosecution of the Argument, you do not expresly mention any Ministeriall government of a Synod in Israel, upon which

which their congregations did depend: Yet we conceive that muſt needs be your meaning; becauſe otherwiſe the Argument which you bring, doth not reach to conclude the thing in queſtion, even as the queſtion is ſtated by your ſelfe. For in the words immediatly preceding this firſt Argument, you thus ſumme up and conclude your ſtating the queſtion, viz. *Whether it be neceſſary —— that a ſingle Congregation, where it ſtands in neighbourhood with other Churches, ſhould be co-ordinated with the reſt in a dependency on the Miniſteriall government of a Synod.* And having anſwered affirmatively, you then bring in this for your firſt Argument, taken from the manner of government in the Jewiſh Church, laid down in the Texts above mentioned. Now if that be the queſtion, as you lay it down, and this the Argument for the affirmative part, then ſith the queſtion is about dependance on the government of a Synod, the Argument muſt needs be of the ſame, or elſe nothing in queſtion is concluded. And if the Argument muſt conclude the queſtion, then it muſt be laid down to the like purpoſe as we have done; and being ſo formed, our anſwer is by denying both parts thereof. For neither is it clear from thoſe texts, that the congregations in Iſrael did depend on the miniſteriall government of a Synod; nor will it follow that ours muſt be dependant as theirs were.

Touching the former of theſe, (to ſpeak firſt of the minor propoſition) ſuppoſe it were true that the Congregations in Iſrael did depend upon the government of the Judicatories or Aſſemblies mentioned in thoſe texts, yet that doth not prove they depended upon a Synod: And the reaſon is, becauſe the Judicatories there mentioned, were not any Synods at all, but Aſſemblies of another nature. For firſt, Synods (as your ſelves deſcribe them pag. 2.) are Aſſemblies, conſiſting of the ſeverall Paſtors, whom together with ſuch other members as ſhould be thought fit, the ſeveral congregations are reſpectively to chuſe & ſend thereto. But thoſe Judicatories in *Deut.* 17. and the other Scriptures, did not conſiſt of any Paſtors or members, whom the ſeverall congregations did chuſe, and ſend thereto; but of the Prieſts and Levites, of the Judges and chiefe of the Fathers of Iſrael, which were conſtantly reſident at Jeruſalem, the place which the Lord had choſen. And the ſeverall congregations had nothing to do either to chuſe them, or ſend them. Secondly, theſe Judicatories at Jeruſalem were ſtanding Courts, and were conſtantly to continue, and therefore they were not Synods;

nods; for Synods are not wont to ſtand and continue, but onely till they have ended the buſineſſe which was the occaſion of calling them, and then to be diſſolved and ended. Thirdly, Mr. *Paget* (out of whom it ſeems this argument, and much of the diſcourſe about it, is taken) doth confeſſe, pag. 3. that the authority of Claſſes and Synods, is not civill, neither have they power to inflict civill puniſhments, they onely judge of Eccleſiaſticall cauſes, and that in Eccleſiaſticall manner, uſing no other then ſpirituall cenſures, in pag. 29. of his *Defence*. But the Judicatories in theſe texts (as Mr. *Paget* alſo confeſſeth pag. 34. 35.) were for civill cauſes as well as Eccleſiaſticall; and ſo it is ſaid, *Deut.* 21. 5. that by the word of the Prieſts and Levites every controverſie and every ſtroke muſt be tried even in civill cauſes, as that of trying out an uncertain murther, which is the cauſe ſpoken of in that place. By all which it plainly appeares, that thoſe ſuperior Judicatories in Iſrael were not Synods; and then ſuppoſe their congregations did depend upon thoſe Judicatories, and that ours muſt depend as theirs did, yet it will not follow that ours muſt depend upon Synods.

And thus your Minor failing, this might be enough to take away the whole ſtrength of your Argument. Nevertheleſſe, for further anſwer, we may alſo deny the conſequence of your Major propoſition: For though it were yeelded, that the congregations in Iſrael did depend upon a ſuperiour Judicatory, it will not follow that it muſt be ſo in theſe dayes: And our reaſon is, becauſe the particular congregations in Iſrael (viz. their Synagogues) were not compleat Churches, as the Congregations in the New Teſtament are. That they were not entire and compleat Churches, may appear by this, becauſe the people could not lawfully in them have the uſe of the moſt ſolemne ordinances of God, and parts of his worſhip, though ſuch as were of ordinary and continuall uſe, but they muſt goe up to Jeruſalem for the performing and enjoyment thereof; and therefore they were ſtrightly commanded, as not to keep the Paſſover, ſo not to offer any Offerings or Sacrifices (which yet were of very frequent uſe) in any place within any of their gates, but onely in Jeruſalem, the place which God did chuſe to put his name there, as we read at large *Deut.* 12. and 16. 5, 6. Neither was it lawfull for the chiefe Miniſters of the Church to execute the chiefe parts of their office in thoſe Synagogues, but only at Jeruſalem. But now with congregations in theſe dayes it is farre

farre otherwiſe; there is none of the ſolemne Ordinances of God, which are of ordinarie and continuall uſe, but in theſe Congregations, they may be enjoyed, nor any ordinarie duties of the Miniſtery, but in them they may be performed, as preaching, prayer, Sacraments, Diſcipline, &c. which ſhews they are entire Churches within themſelves. Dr. *Ames* hath the ſaying. *The Synagogues were not compleat Churches, becauſe the whole worſhip of God, and all the ſacred communion preſcribed at that time, could not be exerciſed in them. Med. Theol. lib.* 1. *ca.* 38. *Theſ.* 37. And again, *There is nothing read in all the New Teſtament, of the inſtitution of any greater Church, on which the leſſer ſhould depend: Nor any worſhip or ſacred ordinance preſcribed, which is not to be obſerved in every Congregation: Nor any ordinary Miniſter appointed who is not given to ſome one Aſſembly of this kind. Lib.* 1. *cap.* 39. *Theſ.* 26. Now if their Congregations could not enjoy all the Ordinances, as not being compleat Churches, there might be reaſon why they ſhould be dependent upon Jeruſalem, and the Synedrion and Temple there, where the Ordinances might be enjoyed; and yet ours being compleat, and enjoying al the Ordinances within themſelves need not to be ſo dependent.

And another reaſon why their Congregations might be dependent, and ours not ſo, may be this. They had a ſuperiour Judicatory to appeal unto which had the *ſupremum* of Church power within it ſelf, and from whoſe ſentence there was no appeal to any further Judge upon earth; for ſo it is ſaid of that Synedrion at Jeruſalem. *Deut.* 17. And Reaſon requires that ſome ſuch ſupream Judicatory there ſhould be; for controverſies & caſes of doubt muſt not be drawn out in *Infinitum*, but of neceſſity *ſtandum eſt in aliquo ſupremo*, we muſt reſt in ſome ſupreame, and proceed no further. But now in the New Teſtament, if we once depart from a particular Congregation or Church, where or when ſhall we find ſuch a *Supremum?* Surely not before we come to an Oecumenicall or Generall Councell: For as for Claſſicall, Provinciall, and Nationall Synods there is none of theſe, but thoſe Caſes which you put of deficiency, and poſſibility of partiality may befall the beſt of them; and therefore if for theſe cauſes the ſingle Congregations, muſt not be Independent, but there muſt be appeals from them, the Synods being ſubject to the like, there muſt be liberty of appeals from them alſo. For like as you do alledge that Congregations may be partiall, and erre, ſo we ſuppoſe it will not be denied but the

Claſſis may erre, the Provinciall Synod may erre, the Nationall may erre: And therefore by this Reaſon entireneſſe of Juriſdiction muſt be granted to none of theſe. And then whither ſhall we go but to a Generall Councill, which as it hath not been ſeen for many by paſt generations, ſo God knows whether ever there ſhall be any ſo long as this world ſhall endure. But how if the Generall Councill do erre alſo? Sure learned Doctor *Reynolds* doth abundantly clear it, that ſuch a thing is not impoſſible. *Theſ.* 2. *Sect.* 15. And ſo by this reaſon entireneſſe of Juriſdiction muſt not be granted to Generall Councils, but there muſt be liberty of appeals from them alſo. Such conſequences do inevitably follow upon that which you ſuggeſt as a ground of appealing from particular Congregations. And by all this it appeareth, that particular Congregations, have no ſuch ſuperiour Judicatory above them, but according to your grounds, there may be liberty of appeals from the ſame; And thence it followeth that there is not the like Reaſon, againſt their Independency, as againſt the Independency of the Synagogues in Iſrael: becauſe thoſe Synagogues had a Judicatorie above them, from which there was no appeal. Thoſe may be Dependent which have others above them, which are ſupreame; Whereas they which have no ſuch above them may be ſupreame themſelves, and conſequently be independent.

Obj. If any ſhall here ask whether we think it not poſſible for particular Congregations to erre in their judgement of cauſes?

We anſwer, That we confeſſe they may; But in our Judgement that needs not to hinder, but they may have entireneſſe of Juriſdiction within themſelves, and not be under the power of any other. For that ſupreame Synedrion at Jeruſalem did many times erre, and gave corrupt Judgement in cauſes, and yet was not under the power of any other Judicatory. When we are enquiring in what Judicatory, the *ſupremum* of Church-power doth lye, it is not our beſt courſe to look for ſuch an one as cannot erre: for ſuch an one we ſhall never find, but to look out where God hath appointed it to lie, and therewith to reſt contented: Now in the old Teſtament this *ſupremum* by Gods appointment, was in that Synedrion at Jeruſalem. But in the new Teſtament we know of no appointment of God, that the like *ſupremum* muſt be in a Synod; but for ought we know a particular Congregation may be anſwerable to that Synedrion, as well as any Claſſis or Synod; and

ſo

ſo much the rather, becauſe the power in a particular congregation, is conſtant, and alwayes ready to be had, as it was in that Synedrion; whereas Claſſes and Synods are more ſeldome and rare, and cannot be gathered ſo often as there may be need of the uſe of Church power, in regard of ordaining of Officers, or cenſuring of offenders, and the like.

Therefore briefly to wind up all, ſith Congregations in the New Teſtament, are compleat Churches, which the Jewiſh Synagogues were not; and ſith the Synagogues had a ſupreame judicatory above them, from which there was no appeale, which our congregations have not: Therefore we conclude, That the dependencie of the Synagogues upon that ſuperiour Judicatory, doth not prove that our congregations muſt depend upon the government of a Synod, eſpecially this being conſidered withall, that the Judicatory upon which the Synagogues did depend, was not any Synod, but an Aſſembly of another nature: And though the Supremacie muſt be ſome where, even where God hath appointed it to be, yet the particular congregations may ſhew as much for that appointment, as the Synod.

And this ſhall ſuffice for anſwer to this firſt Argument: Onely we will adde ſome obſervations upon ſome few paſſages in that which you write for removall of three exceptions which you ſay are given by ſome againſt this argument of yours.

1. *That that government was ceremoniall and typicall.* 2. *That Papiſts alledge it againſt us for their Hierarchy and appeales to—the Pope.* 3. *That the Prieſts and Levites were then Judges in civill cauſes, wherin it was that the government was then appealative and dependent*, pag. 5.

If any doe make ſuch exceptions, we leave it to them that make them, to undertake the defence of them, or to cleare them as they ſhall ſee cauſe. But for us, the anſwer we have given to the Argument, is that wherein we do reſt.

That there ought to be one High-Prieſt, in whom all appeales and judgments were to determine. pag. 6.

Though there was to be one High-Prieſt among the Jewes, yet that all appeals and judgements were to determine in him, we ſuppoſe is more then can be proved. Sure Mr. *Paget* pag. 35, 36. (whom you ſeem in your diſcourſe much to follow) doth ſay, that the judgement ſpoken of, *Deut.* 17. was not given by the High-Prieſt alone, but by a Colledge or Senate of Prieſts, noted in the text, and

approveth the judgement of Doctor *Reynolds* and Doctor *Whitaker*, giving this anſwer as a juſt refutation of the Papiſts, arguing from this Text to prove there ſhould bee one ſupreme Judge of Eccleſiaſticall cauſes.

That there ought to be graduall Judicatories wherein the aggrieved party may appeale from the leſſer to the higher —— There can be no ceremony or type in this —— This was taught by the light of nature to Jethro —— Appeals (ſaith Doctor Whitaker) are of divine and naturall right. pag.6.

If this bee meant in civill cauſes, where more is left to the light of nature and civill prudence, according to the general rules of the Word, the Word not determining all particulars ſo fully, as it doth in Eccleſiaſticall matters; then we for our parts doe fully conſent thereto. And though it were extended to Eccleſiaſticall cauſes alſo, yet this we ſuppoſe is cleare likewiſe by the ſame light of nature, that both for civill cauſes and Eccleſiaſticall, there muſt be ſome finall and ſupreame judgement, that controverſies may not by appeales after appeals be ſpun out in *infinitum*. Now unleſſe it be determined where that ſupremacie doth lie (which is the very thing in queſtion) the uſefulneſſe and neceſſity of appeals may be granted, and yet we ſhall be ſtill at uncertainty about the thing in queſtion, and as much to ſeek as before. That there ought to be appeals till you come to the higheſt, is one thing, and that a Synod (and not a particular congregation) is the higheſt, is another; and they are ſo farre different, that though the firſt were granted, yet the latter is not thereby proved.

That renowned Martyr Cranmer, the forme of his appeale to a Councell, three times by him urged —— we have recorded by Mr Fox *at large* pag.6.

But how this example doth ſuit the preſent queſtion, we doe not underſtand: for his appeal was not from a particular congregation, but from the Pope; nor was it to a Synod, but to the next generall Councell, which from that day to this, hath not yet aſſembled, nor been called. If we muſt hold a neceſſity of appeales to ſuch a Judicatory as *Cranmer* appealed unto, then the ſupremacie of Synods, Provinciall or Nationall, is utterly taken away.

Generally all that write againſt appeals to the Pope, acknowledge yet their neceſſary uſefulneſſe to a Synod; So did that reverend Martyr Cranmer, —— *So (beſides the whole ſtream of Antiquity)* Urſin, Zepperus, *and to come neerer,* Cartwright, Fenner, *nay* Barrow, Ainſworth, Johnſon, pag.6.

We

We doubt it is a ſpeech a good deale too large, to ſay, That all theſe doe acknowledge the neceſſary uſefulneſſe of appeales to a Synod, eſpecially if you mean of ſuch appeales as you muſt needs mean, or elſe you ſpeak not to the queſtion in hand; viz. of appeals from a particular congregation. We have looked upon ſome of the places, and doe perſwade our ſelves that if you doe look upon them alſo, you will finde this ſpeech of yours to be too exceſſive. As for Mr. *Paget*, who (pag. 39. 40.) alledgeth all theſe very places that you doe alledge, he doth not ſay that thoſe Authours doe all acknowledge ſuch neceſſary uſefulneſſe of appeals to a Synod, as you doe report them to acknowledge; nor doth alledge them for that end, but for another purpoſe, viz. to ſhew, that in theſe dayes we may alledge and argue from texts out of the Law of *Moſes*, and other places of the old Teſtament, which if it be rightly done, we for our parts ſee no reaſon to diſallow. But that all theſe Authors, even *Barrow* and *Ainſworth* doe acknowledge the neceſſary uſefulneſſe of appeales from particular congregations to the government of Synods, is ſo large an expreſſion, as wee know not upon what grounds to think it credible; ſith it is well knowne to them that have read their writings, that they acknowledge no Eccleſiaſticall Judicatory ſuperiour to that of a particular congregation.

If the benefit of appeals and conſociation of Churches, to their mutuall help in government, ſhould not be as free to us as to the Jewes, how much more defective and improvident were the Goſpel, then the Law? pag. 7.

Conſociation of Churches for mutuall help, we willingly acknowledge, ſo that this conſociation may neither conſtitute a new form of a Church, nor take away or impair the liberty and power which Chriſt hath given to Churches; but ſerve onely according to the true uſe thereof, for the directing and guiding of the ſame: which proviſo (as we ſaid before) Mr. *Paget* doth willingly grant.

And for appeals, we do willingly acknowledge any benefit that may come thereby: But for making the Goſpel more defective then the Law; we conceive if things be well conſidered, it is not our way, but yours, that will be found juſtly culpable, in this reſpect. For firſt, as the Jews had a ſupreame Judicatory for the finall ending of Cauſes, ſo we hold the ſame in a particular Congregation. Whereas according to your opinion and grounds, we

know not where or when to find ſuch a Judicatory, but there muſt be appeals upon appeals, from the Congregation to the Claſſis, from a Claſſis to a Provinciall Synod, and from them to a Nationall, and from that to an Oecumenicall; and by this means cauſes may be ſo protracted, as not to receive any determination for many generations, yea it may be never while this world doth endure. Secondly, as with them there was a ſtanding Judicatorie alwaies in readineſſe for the hearing of cauſes, ſo we hold the like in the particular Congregation: Whereas Synods are not alwaies in readineſſe, but ſo ſeldome, that if they had ſupreme power to determine, yet cauſes may be long depending, before a Synod can be called for the determining of them. Thirdly, whereas the ſupreame Judicatorie at Jeruſalem, being but one in all the world, was verie farre remote from all proſelites, that lived in other countreys (as the Eunuch of Ethiopia, *Act.* 8.) yea farre remote from thoſe Jews, that dwelt in the furtheſt parts of the Holy Land; God hath provided better for us in regard that Congregations wherein we place the ſupreame Church power being many in number, a Chriſtian may have the uſe of that power with much more conveniencie, then was affoarded to moſt Jews and Proſelites in thoſe daies; But as for Synods, as they are for time more ſeldome, then that Synedrion, ſo they are to many perſons no leſſer remote in place. By all which it doth appear, that the doctrine of the Independents (as you call them) doth in ſome things make us equall to the Jews, and in other things, doth make our condition more excellent then theirs; Whereas according to your way, that are againſt Independencie, in many things our condition is made more defective then theirs.

How were our Saviour King of peace and righteouſneſſe, ſhould he have ordained now under the Goſpel, ſuch a government as —— were neither righteous nor peaceable? pa. 7.

That our bleſſed Saviour is King of righteouſneſſe and peace, and the Church government which he hath ordained both righteous and peaceable, is ſuch a certain and divine truth, that it were blaſphemous wickedneſſe to doubt of it; But when the Queſtion is, what government Chriſt hath ordained, it is better arguing to ſay, This government the Scripture doth witneſſe to be ordained of Chriſt, and therefore it is righteous and peaceable, then to ſay, this government is not righteous nor peaceable, and therefore

fore not ordained of Chriſt. We meane plainly thus, that it is more agreeable to religious ſobrietie and humilitie, to ſearch out by Scripture-grounds, what government Chriſt hath ordained, and when that is once found, then to conclude from thence, the righteouſneſſe and peaceableneſſe of the ſame; rather then on the other ſide, to think with our ſelves what government to naturall reaſon ſeems righteous and peaceable, and thence to gather what is ordained or not ordained of Chriſt, your ſelf have a ſaying p. 9. that laws meerly poſitive are therefore Laws becauſe commanded. And why may not we ſay in like ſort, this or that form of Church government, is therefore peaceable and righteous, becauſe ordained, ſith this or that form is by the poſitive law of Chriſt.

But (ſay you) how can that government be peaceable and righteous, where parties are made ſole Judges? Suppoſe the greater number of members in a Congregation be againſt the Paſtor and Elders. pag. 7.

Anſw. It is not unrighteous nor unpeaceable in it ſelf that they ſhould be Judges, whom the God of all righteouſneſſe and peace hath appointed ſo to be. Nor is it reaſonable, that they ſhould be thruſt out of the office, whereto God hath appointed them, under this pretence, that they are parties; For if good care be not taken how farre we give way to ſuch alledgements, we may lay a foundation for weakning, if not utterly evacuating, the authoritie of all ſupreame Judicatories whatſoever. For as you alledge againſt the Congregation, that they may be divided amongſt themſelves, and then if matters be ended there, parties are made Judges, (*viz.* the major part againſt the minor) ſo the very ſame may be ſaid of a Synod, where controverſies may ariſe, as well as in a Congregation: And if Congregations muſt not determine matters ariſing within themſelves, becauſe parties muſt not be Judges; then by the ſame reaſon matters ariſing in a Synod, muſt not be determined by a Synod; and ſo the Synod unto whom, you would have matters carried from the Congregation, muſt be no more Independent, then the Congregation it ſelf, from whom they are carried. Yea, by this Reaſon, that ſupreame Synedrion among the Jews, muſt have been dependent alſo. For it is plain, that ſometimes that Synedrion was divided into parts among themſelves, as in that famous inſtance, *Act.* 23. where the diviſion of the Councill was the means of *Paul's* eſcape.

Finally, there is not any ſupreme Judicatory upon earth, neither

ther Civill nor Eccleſiaſticall, but if they conſiſt of many perſons, and be not abſolute and meere Monarchies conſiſting of one alone, the members thereof may be divided among themſelves, and yet they muſt be the finall Judges to determine matters within themſelves, if the matters muſt be determined at all: ſo that this which you ſeeme to reject as an abſurditie, that parties ſhould be Judges, is in ſome caſes (and namely when the ſupreme Judicatory is divided into parts about matters ariſing among themſelves) a matter of unavoidable neceſſity, and cannot be otherwiſe.

This communion and mutuall aſſiſtance in government, — God as by his Word, ſo by the very light of Nature, teacheth all ſocieties whatever, whether Common-wealths, or Armies, Univerſities or Navies, pag. 7.

Anſw. Either this paſſage means that all Common-wealths, &c. are taught ſuch communion and aſſiſtance in government with other Common-wealths, &c. as that none of them have entireneſſe and ſupremacie of juriſdiction within themſelves, but are dependant on other the like ſocieties for the ſame; or elſe that the members and parts of a Common-wealth, &c. are taught ſuch communion and aſſiſtance in government, as not to be entire of themſelves, but to depend upon the whole ſociety of which they are members and parts. If it be taken in the latter ſenſe, then the thing is moſt true, but no prejudice to our cauſe at all, for we grant the ſame of the parts and members of a Congregationall Church, &c. But it muſt be taken in the former ſenſe, if it make any thing againſt us; and in this ſenſe it will not hold true: for it is well known, that Common-wealths and Univerſities, as the Common-wealth of England for example, and the Univerſity of Oxford, have no ſuch communion and aſſiſtance in government, with other Common-wealths and other Univerſities, but that they have entireneſſe of juriſdiction within themſelves; and the ſame may be ſaid of Armies and Navies. The members of all theſe ſocieties doe depend on the ſocietie of which they are members: But that is nothing againſt us. If the Societies did depend upon other the like Societies, this indeed were againſt us. But this cannot be proved ſo to be.

Not that therefore this government of Churches ſhould at thoſe end in a Monarchy on earth.

Anſw. We ſuppoſe it is a clear miſtake, to ſay that the government in all thoſe ſocieties, doth end in a Monarchy: For whatever may be ſaid of the reſt, Common-wealths you know there are ſundry

ſundry, whoſe government is either Democraticall or Ariſtocraticall, and doth not end in any Monarchy at all; witneſſe for example the Low Countreys.

But if Churches muſt be dependent upon the government of Synods, becauſe the very light of Nature teacheth a communion and aſſiſtance in government to all Societies whatever; then we ſee not how it will be avoyded, but by the ſame reaſon Churches muſt end in a Monarchy upon earth, if it were once proved, that the light of Nature doth teach all ſocieties whatever ſo to end: For there is as good reaſon for this as for the other. And the old plea for Biſhops and Popes, *ut capite conſtituto ſchiſmatis occaſio tolleretur*, will not be eaſily avoyded. If we yeeld thus much that what the light of nature teacheth other Societies, the ſame muſt be obſerved in the government of Churches.

You ſay indeed that this will not follow, *Becauſe the Churches Monarch or Head is in Heaven, and ſuch an one, as though in Heaven, yet ſtill preſent by his Word and Spirit here on earth too, to all the offices of a Monarch. pag. 7.*

But this we conceive doth not remove the difficultie, partly, becauſe the objection is for a viſible Head, and not an inviſible; and partly becauſe the time hath been when there was one High-Prieſt upon earth, in whom you ſay (pag. 6.) that all appeals and judgements were to determine: And yet at that time the Monarch or Head of the Church was in Heaven, and preſent on earth too by his Word and Spirit, to all the offices of a Monarch, as truly then as now.

Whereby we may ſee, that if you will goe by the light of Nature, it is not the preſence of Chriſt in Heaven, and his ſpirituall and inviſible preſence with his Church on earth, that will take away the neceſſity of a viſible Head upon earth. A ſurer anſwer to this plea, is to flye to the inſtitution and appointment of God, whoſe wiſedome and will it was to appoint one High Prieſt upon earth in former times, but hath not done the like in theſe dayes.

CHAP. III.

Containing an anſwer to the ſecond Argument taken from Matth 18. Tell the Church.

THat this *is ſpoken by our Saviour in reference to the Jewiſh Church-government,* ——*is the joynt judgement of* Ambroſe, Theodoret, —— *among the ancient:* Melanchton, Strigetius, Peretius, Aretius, —— *and even Mr.* Johnſon *himſelfe.* ——*And if ſo, then our Saviour here ſufficiently confirmes to us as lawfull, and conveyes to us as uſefull ſo much of the Jewiſh Church-government as includes an Independencie and libery of Appealestherein.* pag. 9, 10.

Anſw. By dependencie here ſpoken of, muſt be meant dependencie upon the government of a Synod; and by Appeal muſt be meant Appeale from a particular Congregation unto that Synod, or otherwiſe the Argument concludes beſides the Queſtion: And the words being thus underſtood, the forme of the Argument muſt be to this purpoſe, viz.

If that which is here ſpoken by our Saviour, be ſpoken in reference to the Jewiſh Church-government, then particular congregations muſt depend upon the government of Synods.

But the firſt is true: Therefore the ſecond is true alſo.

But for confirmation of this Minor Propoſition, you bring no other proofe but onely the teſtimonies of a number of Authours, all cited before by Mr. *Paget* in his *Defence, pag.* 46, 47, &c. And for the conſequence of your Major you bring no proofe at all. Nevertheleſſe we are willing to conſider what ſtrength there may be in the Argument, and to that purpoſe we muſt enquire into your meaning in this phraſe of *Reference to the Jewiſh Church-government,* whereby we conceive you intend one of theſe two, either that the word *Church* in our Saviours rule, *Tell the Church*, doth ſignifie the Elders and Governours alone, as ſomtimes the like word is uſed in the old Teſtament; or elſe that no new rule is preſcribed here by our Saviour, but the very ſame that was formerly given to the Jews. Mr. *Paget*, who alſo takes his ſecond argument from this place of *Mat.* 18. doth underſtand our Saviours words in this later ſenſe. But whether way ſoever you intend, our anſwer is briefly thus: Firſt, that though we will not now deny the minor Propoſition, yet this we may ſay, That it is not ſo evident of it ſelf, but that it needs ſome

ſome better proof then by you is given for the confirmation of it; for of it ſelf it is not clear, that by *Church* is meant onely the Elders of the Church, nor that all the ſteps of ſuch graduall proceeding as our Saviour doth preſcribe, were formerly commanded to the Jews. And your ſelf profeſſing in your Epiſtle to the Gentlemen, prefixed before your book, that you like D. *Moulins* reſolution, rather to bring one Argument then ten Authors, if accordingly you had confirmed this minor propoſition with ſome further proof then onely the names of Authors, it could have given better ſatisfaction.

But what ever become of the minor, the conſequence of the major may juſtly be denied. For though it were granted that our Saviours words, *Tell the Church*, were ſpoken with reference to the Jewiſh Church-government in this ſence, that this graduall proceeding in all the ſteps of it was formerly commanded to the Jews, yet this is nothing to prove the neceſſitie of the dependance of Congregations upon the government of Synods, (which is our queſtion) becauſe there may be ſuch graduall proceedings to the fulfilling of our Saviours rule, without any uſe of a Synod at all. If it were not ſo, Synods had need to be more frequent then they are, or ever were, or are ever like to be, for this rule of our Saviour is of very frequent uſe.

And though it were granted alſo, that by *Church*, our Saviour meant the Elders (which is the other ſenſe of your words of reference to the Jewiſh Church-government) yet neither would this prove the dependence of Congregations upon the Government of Synods, becauſe there may be and ought to be Elders, and an Elderſhip or Presbyterie in every particular Congregation, and by telling thoſe Elders that rule may be obſerved, if our Saviours words were taken in that ſence. And indeed it ſeems your ſelf do ſo underſtand them, as appears in pag. 17. of your book, and likewiſe in this place now in hand, becauſe one of thoſe Authors whom you alledge for the meaning of our Saviours words, is Mr. *Johnſon*, who in his latter times, did ſo underſtand them, of whom you ſay, *Even Mr.* Johnſon *himſelf though a Paſtor of Separatiſts in a peculiar Treatiſe reduceth himſelf from his former error in the contrary opinion, to this judgement too.* Wherby it ſeems, that for the meaning of this text, you concurre in opinion or judgement with Mr. *Johnſon*. And if ſo, then though you may by *Church* underſtand the Elders as he

did, yet then you muſt alſo acknowledge the Independency of particular Congregations and the Paſtors thereof; for it is certain and plain that Mr. *Johnſon* was of that opinion and judgement too, notwithſtanding that his Expoſition of *Matth.* 18. and did never reduce himſelf to this opinion, that Congregations muſt be dependent upon the Government of Synods, which is your plea. For which purpoſe you may conſider what is to be ſeen in his *Chriſtian Plea*, which was one of the laſt books that ever he wrote. Now in pag. 250, 251. of that book are theſe words, *viz. Seeing now every particular conſtituted Church hath right and power within it ſelf to celebrate the Lords Supper, which is anſwerable to the Paſſeover that was kept at Jeruſalem, this ſheweth that now every particular Church is to be eſteemed as Jeruſalem, and ſo to ſtand immediately under Jeſus Chriſt the Arch-Paſtor of his ſheep, and high Prieſt of our profeſſion.* And again, *All particular Churches with their Paſtors do ſtand immediately under Jeſus Chriſt the Arch-Paſtor without any ſtrange Eccleſiaſticall power and authoritie interpoſed between, whether it be of the Prelates, or of their unlawfull uſurping Synods, or any ſuch like* ——. And in the words following, ſpeaking how all Churches, and the Miniſters of them, ſhould be readie and willing to help and adviſe one another, he addeth thus: *viz. And ſo to this end, and in this manner, may be had a lawfull and profitable uſe of Synods, Claſſes, &c. for mutuall help and adviſe, ſo as alwaies it be provided that they do not challenge or uſurp any unlawfull Juriſdiction or power over the particular Churches, or their Paſtors and Governours.* By which words it plainly appeareth, that though Mr. *Johnſon* by *Church* in *Matth.* 18. did underſtand the Elders, yet he never held that particular Churches, and the Elders thereof, ſhould depend upon the government of Synods, but be immediately under the government and authoritie of Jeſus Chriſt, and depend no other way upon Synods but onely for their adviſe and counſell: and therefore his Expoſition of *Matth.* 18. will ſtand you in no ſtead to prove the dependance of particular Churches upon Synods.

Wherefore to wind up our Anſwer to this Argument. Though it were granted that when our Saviour ſaith, *Tell the Church*, he means *tell the Elders*, and though it were granted alſo that enjoying ſuch a graduall proceeding, he preſcribeth no new rule, but the ſame that had been given before unto the Jews, yet neither of theſe do prove that Congregations muſt depend upon the Authoritie of Synods; and the reaſon is, becauſe both theſe may be performed

formed in a particular Congregation; for therein a man may proceed by ſuch ſteps and degrees as our Saviour enjoyneth, and may alſo tell his matter to the Elders of that particular Church. And ſo the conſequence of your major propoſition failing, the whole Argument muſt fail alſo, though the minor were never ſo ſtrongly proved: and how much more when the minor is left ſo weak, neither of theſe particulars being ſufficiently cleared and made good by you, that by *Church* is meant the Elders, nor that all that our Saviour in that place preſcribeth, was before commanded to the Jews.

But inaſmuch as your words are, that this of *Matth.* 18. is ſpoken by our Saviour Chriſt in reference to the Jewiſh Church-government before urged, therefore we may give a further Anſwer to this Argument, out of that which before hath been anſwered when the Argument from the Jewiſh Church-government was urged. For though it were granted that Chriſt ſpeaks in reference to that government, yea though it were granted (which we ſuppoſe none will affirm) that all that was uſed among the Jews is here preſcribed by Chriſt, yet all this were too ſhort to prove that our Congregations muſt depend upon the government of Synods, unleſſe it could be proved that the Jewiſh Congregations did ſo depend, which we have formerly ſhewed to be otherwiſe, the great Synedrion at Jeruſalem upon which their leſſer Congregations did depend, if they were dependent at all, being not any Synod, but an Aſſembly of another nature.

But you will improve this Text further; and therefore after ſome ſpeech of an Indefinite propoſition in Logick, and an Indefinite command in Divinitie, and of five graduall *Iffs* in our Saviours words, *If he ſhall offend, &c.* you come thus to argue, *viz. The remedie of complaint or Appeal muſt be as large as the malady offence, otherwiſe Chriſts ſalve were not equall to the ſore: but offences may ariſe as well between divers Congregations in the ſame Church, as between divers members in the ſame Congregation, and therefore particular Congregations as well as members have hereby liberty to complain and appeal to a more generall Judgement for redreſſe.* And a little after: *That ſuch offences may ariſe between Churches as well as members, appears by that between the Grecians and Hebrews about the neglect of their widows,* Act. 6. 1. *and that in ſuch caſes they may complain and implead each other, appears by that of the Prophet* Hoſea 2. 2. *even the daughter Church with the mother.* pag. 10. To all which we thus anſwer.

First,

Firſt, though we deny not but offences may ariſe betweene Churches as well as members, yet we do not ſee that thoſe inſtances alledged by you from *Act.* 6. and *Hoſ.* 2. do ſufficiently prove the ſame; becauſe thoſe Grecians and Hebrews, *Act.* 6. might be all of one and the ſame Church and Congregation which was at Jeruſalem, and not two Congregations or Churches, the Grecians one and the Hebrews another, as it ſeems you do conceive of them. For when the Apoſtles upon occaſion of this murmuring of the Grecians for the neglect of their widows, did take courſe for the appointing of Deacons for the remedying thereof, the whole managing of the buſineſſe was tranſacted and done in one Congregation alone; for ſo it is ſaid, *they called the multitude of Diſciples together*, verſ. 2. they appointed them to look out ſeven men duely qualified whom they might appoint over that buſineſſe, *v.* 3. and the ſaying pleaſed the whole multitude, who thereupon did chuſe ſeven whom they preſented unto the Apoſtles, *ver.* 5, 6. and the Apoſtles impoſed hands on them, *ver.* 6. In all this there is no hint of two congregations, one of Grecians and another of Hebrews, but the Text ſeemeth plain enough, that the whole multitude of Diſciples whether Grecians or Hebrews were all gathered together into one Congregation about the choice and ordaining of theſe Deacons.

And as for *Hoſ.* 2. 2. *Plead with your mother, plead*, ſith there is no mention in that Scripture of any daughter Church, nor of any two Churches at all; and ſith at that time there was only one Church upon the face of the earth, even the Nationall Church of the Jewes, therefore we cannot ſee how this Text can be any proofe of Churches complaining and impleading one another. If any man think otherwiſe, and that the daughter-Churches did plead againſt the mother-Church of Iſrael that is here ſpoken of, then we would demand what or where was that ſuperiour Judicatory, be it Synod or any other, before which they did plead, and before whom the mother-Church of Iſrael muſt anſwer for herſelfe, when the daughter-Churches did complain againſt her. We ſuppoſe none will affirme there was any ſuch: and therefore this text can be no ground for Churches impleading one another. But the true meaning of the place is thus much, not that one Church muſt plead againſt another, but that the godly members of the Church of Iſrael muſt plead againſt the corruptions of that very Church, though

though in reſpect of them ſhe were as a mother, and they as children. And before whom muſt they plead? Not before any other Judge upon earth, but before the Lord of heaven, and unto her own face, laying open her abominations, and ſhewing unto her, her ſins: And we acknowledge the members of any other Church may doe the like, if there be the like occaſion, ſo that they keep themſelves within the bounds of ſobriety, and their owne calling.

But if it were granted (though theſe allegations doe not prove it) that offences may ariſe between Congregations, how doth this prove the thing in queſtion, viz. That Congregations muſt depend upon the government of Synods? Yes, ſay you; "Becauſe the re-"medy muſt be as large as the malady; and otherwiſe Chriſts "ſalve were not equall to the ſore. But if this reaſon be ſufficient againſt the Independency of Churches; then by the like reaſon a man may prove, that the Church of a Nation muſt not be Independent neither: For as you alledge, that offences may ariſe as well between divers congregations, as between divers members in the ſame congregation; ſo a man may alledge, that offences may ariſe between divers Nationall Churches. And as you demand, *What if a brother offend not a particular brother, but the whole Congregation? What if ten brethren offend the whole, or part; ſhall we think the offence falls not within our Saviours remedy?* So in like ſort a man may demand, What if the Congregation offend not a particular Congregation, but the whole Church of a Nation? What if ten, twenty, fourty congregations, offend the whole Nation, or part? Yea, we may adde, What if the Nationall Church offend the Church of another Nation? Would you now ſay, that all theſe offences muſt fal within our *Saviours* rule of *telling the Church*; and that this were a ſufficient reaſon againſt the independencie of Nationall Churches and Nationall Synods? We ſuppoſe you would not ſay ſo: And yet we doe not ſee how it can be avoided by your reaſon and ground, ſith that ground is appliable to the one caſe as well as to the other. If the reaſon doe overthrow the Independencie of particular Congregations, then of a Nationall Church alſo. If not of a Nationall Church, then how doth it make any more againſt the other? Of neceſſity for ought wee can diſcern, you muſt owne the reaſon as ſtrong in both caſes, or elſe refuſe it as weak in both. Yea, and further, by the like reaſon a man might

prove,

prove that Indians and Turkes muſt be complained of unto the Church, and that the offences of them, or of other Heathen, muſt fall within the compaſſe of our Saviours remedy. For as offences may ariſe between members and members, between Churches and Churches: ſo it is apparent that offences may ariſe between Chriſtians and Pagans; and if this ground that you lay be ſound, that the *remedy complaint, or appeale muſt be at large as the malady offence:* and conſequently there muſt be a Church above Congregations; then if an Indian or other Pagan ſhall commit an offence, the remedy muſt be to complain of the Indian to the Church. And ſith (as you ſay, pag. 11.) *There muſt be power of judgement to redreſſe there where the complaint is to be made*; would it not thence follow, that there muſt be power of judgement in the Church to redreſſe the offences of Indians? Which were directly contrary to the plain words of the Apoſtle, 1 *Cor.* 5. 12. *What have I to doe to judge them that are without?* But this inconvenience of the Churches judging them that are without, doth unavoidably follow upon this which you lay as a ground againſt the independencie of Congregations, viz. that where an offence may be committed, there Chriſts rule, *Tell the Church*, may be applied for redreſſe thereof.

But what ſhall we ſay then? If Indians and other Heathens, if Congregationall and Nationall Churches of Chriſtians, be not under the power of that rule of Chriſt, ſhall we ſay then there is no ſalve for all their ſores, but ſo many ſinners muſt be left lawleſſe, and their offences remedileſſe? God forbid! The Lord hath provided good ſtore of help for all theſe: but every ſalve is not for every ſore. Such perſons as are in the Church, all they are ſubject to the diſcipline of the Church, and to the power of Chriſt adminiſtred therein, ſo that if need ſo require, they may be excommunicated and caſt out. Whole Churches are ſubject to the wholſome advice and counſell of other Churches; and ſo farre as the ſame ſhall be according to God, they ought to hearken thereunto: And if they doe not, they may lawfully be renounced by other Churches, from all Church-communion with them. And as for Indians, or others, that are no Churches, nor members of Churches, though our Saviours Rule of Telling the Church, was not intended for them, yet both they and Chriſtian Churches likewiſe, and the members of them, are all of them to be ſubject to the Magiſtrates, and the authority of the higher Powers, whoſe duty

it is

it is to be keepers of both Tables of the Law of God, and to do their endeavour that all the Subjects may lead a quiet and peaceable life in all godlineſſe and honeſtie. *Rom.* 13.1. 1 *Tim.* 2.2.

But, ſay you, an offence may be ſo generall as to defile and make guilty a whole Land, and why not then the remedie as large as it, Tell the Church? pag. 11.

Anſ. In ſuch caſe of generall and nationall defilements, the remedie is generall and Nationall repentance, whereto all the people muſt be provoked, and exhorted by the Miniſters of the Word in their ſeverall Congregations. And when the higher powers do give example thereof in their own perſons, and by ſome act of their Authoritie do call upon all the people for the ſame, this is a notable remedie, through the mercy of God, againſt the defilement of Nationall ſins, and the danger that may come thereby. Which as it was the practiſe of *Aſa*, *Hezekiah*, *Joſiah*, and the States of *Judah* in their times, ſo we have cauſe with all humble thankfulneſſe to bleſſe the Lord that put the like care into the hearts of the *Lords* and *Commons* aſſembled in Parliament in our deare native Countrey, who by an Ordinance of both Houſes thought it meet to exhort all the Subjects of England and Wales to the duty of Repentance, both for perſonall and Nationall ſins.

But ſuppoſe the Magiſtrate be an Enemy to Religion, and the Land or whole Church therein have occaſion to make a ſolemne renewall of their Covenant with God, ſhall not this whole Church or number in their collective body have power to enjoyn it?

Anſ. If the ſupreame Magiſtrate be an enemie to Religion, it is not like but moſt or many of the people will be of the ſame mind; *Regis ad exemplum totus* —— as it is at this day in France and Spaine, and was in England in the dayes of Queen *Mary*, and other Popiſh Princes; and then the beleevers in the Land will not be ſo many as to bear the name of the Land or Nation, but of a ſmall part thereof, and ſo at that time it will not be required of them to make any Nationall Covenant, or to enjoyn the ſame. Nor can it well be conceived how they ſhould aſſemble in a Nationall Synod for that or any other purpoſe, when the Magiſtrate is a profeſſed enemie to their Religion. At ſuch times it is more like their meetings in ſmall congregations will be full of danger, rather then that they ſhould have libertie ſafely and freely to meet in ſuch great Aſſemblies as Nationall Synods. And though for lack of

ſuch a Nationall Covenant, the remedie be not equall to the offence or need, yet at ſuch time that remedie being not in the power of ſuch beleevers as are in the Land, it is not required at their hands.

If a whole Congregation, great or ſmall, play the Foxes, and ſpoil the vineyard, why may it not be taken and reſtrained? pa. 11.

Anſ. No doubt but it may, but ever in the way, and by the means which Chriſt hath appointed. If thoſe Foxes be particular members of the Church, they may be reſtrained by doctrine, by diſcipline, and by the Magiſtrates Authoritie. If they be whole Churches, they may be reſtrained by Doctrine, and by the adviſe and counſell of other Churches, and alſo by the Magiſtrates. But if they be not members of the Church, they can not be reſtrained by Church diſcipline, but onely by the Authoritie of the Magiſtrate, and by the preaching of the Word.

To this Argument the Independent party reply or rather labour to obtain out of the Text three things.

Firſt, that our Saviour ſpeaks here of a ſingle Church or Congregation — Secondly, to this ſingle Church, and to all this Church entirely, not diſtinguiſhing between Elders and Members, he gives the keyes of Excommunication and Abſolution — Thirdly, over this Church to aſſume a Church power of Judicature it a Lording it over Chriſts heritage —

To the firſt of theſe exceptions we anſwer, that it no way appears that our Saviour in this place or that, the Scripture elſewhere, uſually means a ſingle congregation by the word Church, *but that the contrary rather is eaſily evincible.*

Firſt, that he here ſpake in reference to the Jewiſh Church, which way no ſingle congregation hath above ſufficiently appeared. pag. 11.

Anſ. But how in reference? If you mean in this ſence, that what ever was uſed in that Church muſt be uſed in the Chriſtian, or that as that Church was Nationall, ſo Chriſtian Churches muſt be the like, then we may ſay, no ſuch things hath appeared at all, nor hath been ſo much as undertaken to be proved. If you mean onely thus, that there were ſuch graduall proceedings in that Church as Chriſt in this place requireth, or that the word *Church* may ſignifie the Elders or Rulers, then we may ſay neither of theſe have ſufficienely appeared by any proof that you have brought; and if they were both granted, they are nothing to the matter now in queſtion, *viz.* that the word *Church* doth not ſignifie one ſingle Congregation;

gation; for both theſe particulars may be found and made uſe of in ſuch a Church as is of no larger extent.

Next, that he hath reference herein to that of Deut. 19.15. *appears by his citation of the very words of that text, that in the mouth of two or three witneſſes every word may be eſtabliſhed: Now there the witneſſes and offenders were by way of further Appeal to ſtand before the Lord, before the Prieſts for judgement,* verſ. 17. pag. 12.

Anſw. The words are not as you cite them, *before the Prieſts for judgement*; but before the Prieſts and Judges which ſhall be in thoſe dayes. And it appeareth by the puniſhment which theſe Judges muſt inflict upon the guiltie perſon there ſpoken of, life for life, eye for eye, tooth for tooth, &c. *v.* 21. that if our Saviour refer his Church to do like unto that Judicatory which you ſay he hath reference unto, then the Church muſt have power to inflict corporall puniſhment, even to the taking away of life it ſelf, becauſe that Judicatory had ſuch power.

Laſtly, no other place can be ſhewed, where our Saviour uſed the word Church *for a ſingle congregation.*

Anſ. Nor can any other place be ſhewed where he uſed the word *Church* for a Synod, nor that he ever uſed the word at all, but onely here, and in *Matth.* 16. *Upon this rock will I build my Church:* in which place he means a Synod no more then a ſingle congregation.

But for the Scripture language, nothing is more manifeſt, then as it never any where uſeth the word Church *for a ſingle congregation, unleſſe happily in* 1 Cor. 14. — *ſo nothing is more frequent therein then to call many congregations in a Province or City, by the name of a Church.* pag. 12.

Anſ. We are willing to conſider of both theſe particulars; and firſt of the former, wherein you do acknowledge (though a perhaps, or happily) that in 1 *Cor.* 14. the word *Church* is taken for a ſingle congregation: but you may acknowledge it undoubtedly, and without any perhaps at all, becauſe it is ſaid, *ver.* 23. of that Chapter, that the whole Church cometh together in one place. And in other verſes of the ſame Chapter he ſpeaks, how he that prophecieth edifieth the Church, how interpreting is that the Church may receive edifying, how it is a ſhame for women to ſpeak in the Church, *ver.* 4, 5, 35. Yea in *ver.* 26, 27, 28. he gives them this direction, that when they come together, and every one hath a Pſalme, a Doctrine, &c. that he that ſpeaks in a ſtrange tongue, if there be no Interpreter, muſt keep ſilence in the Church.

By all which he plainly ſheweth, that the name *Church* is given to the company that did aſſemble and come together, for performance of ſpirituall duties, and for the exerciſe of ſpirituall gifts. Now a company coming together is a congregation, and therefore the name of Church is here given to a congregation. But beſides this Chapter, there are many other places where the word *Church* is alſo uſed in the ſame ſence: for inſtance, take theſe amongſt many: *Act.* 14.27. and 11.26. and 15.4, 22, 30. 1 *Cor.* 11.18, 20, 22, 33. 3 *Joh.* 6. in which places there is mention of aſſembling with the Church, of gathering the Church together, of being received by the Church, of bearing witneſſe before the Church, of coming together in the Church, of coming together into one place, of gathering the multitude together, and the like. Which places do abundantly ſhew, that a company that are gathered together into one place (which is nothing elſe but a congregation) are called by the name of a Church. And the Chriſtians of Cenchrea which was but a little village, and therefore not like to be many congregations, yet they are ſtiled by the name of a Church. *Rom.* 16.1. And though Cenchrea were but the port of Corinth, and not farre from it, like Radcliffe or Lymehouſe to London, as ſome have obſerved, yet being a congregation of it ſelf, it is a diſtinct Church of it ſelf, as well as Corinth was.

Much more might be ſaid to make it manifeſt, that a ſingle congregation is called by the name of a Church in many places of Scripture; and how then can that ſtand which is here affirmed by you, that the word is never ſo uſed, unleſſe happily in 1 *Cor.* 14. and that nothing is more manifeſt.

But whereas you ſay, *That nothing is more frequent then to call many congregations in a Province or Citie, by the name of a Church*; we may rather ſay, that this is ſo far from being ſo frequent, as nothing more, that on the contrary it is very queſtionable, whether it be ever ſo uſed at all in all the New Teſtament: Sure it is more frequent to call many Congregations in a Province or Nation, by the name of Churches in the plural number, and not by the name of Church in the ſingular; which doth ſtrongly imply, that if they be many congregations, then they are not one Church, but many. For this purpoſe it is to be conſidered, how the Scripture mentions not the Church, but the Churches of Galatia, Gal. 1.1. 1 Cor. 16.1. of Macedonia, 2 Cor. 8.1. of Judea, 1 Theſſ. 2.14. Gal. 1, 21. of Galilee and

and of Samaria, Acts 9. 31. of Syria and Cilitia, Acts 15.41. and of Aſia, 1 Cor. 16.19. In which one Province there were ſeven famous Churches at once, mentioned Revel. 1.4. beſides others that are mentioned elſe-where. Now as all theſe inſtances doe ſufficiently ſhew, that ſomething is more frequent in Scripture, then to call many Congregations by the name of a Church, ſo it is worth our conſideration, what ſhould be the reaſon of this diffrent ſpeech in Scripture, that when it ſpeaks of the Chriſtians of one Congregation, it ſhould frequently give them the name of a Church, as we heard before; and when it ſpeakes of the Chriſtians in a Province or Countrey, where were many congregations, it ſhould call them ſo uſually by the name of Churches in the plurall number. Sure it ſeemes to us to be ſtrongly implyed thereby, that one Congregation of Chriſtians may be a Church; but if they be many Congregations, then they are many Churches, and not one onely.

But you will give foure inſtances, where the name of a Church is given to many congregations, Jeruſalem, Rome, Corinth, and Epheſus. And concerning Jeruſalem, the number of Diſciples that were there, being 8120, *Acts* 1. 15. *with* 2.41. *and* 4. 4. *and afterward abundantly larger, it was impoſſible all the members ſhould meet but by way of diſtribution into ſeverall congregations.* pag. 12.

Anſw. How large ſoever that Church was in thoſe places you alledge, yet if the Scripture ſay they did meet together in one place, then we muſt beleeve it was poſſible for them ſo to doe; and that as they were but one Church, ſo they were but one Congregation. Now the text is plain, firſt of all, that when they were but 120. they all met together in one place; for otherwiſe how could *Peter* ſtand up in the midſt of them, and make a ſpeech to them all, about the election of another Apoſtle in the room of *Iudas*, as he is recorded to have done, Acts 115. Next of all, when 3000 were added to them, Acts 2. yet all that multitude before they were converted, did all come together in one place, verſ. 6. and *Peter ſtanding up, lift up his voyce and ſpake unto them all*, verſ. 14. And when they were converted, both they and the reſt of the beleevers were not yet ſo many, but the multitude of them were all together, verſ.44. and continued daily with one accord in the Temple, verſ.46. And when after this, (the Lord adding daily to the Church ſuch as ſhould be ſaved) the number of the men was about 5000. Acts 4.4. yet all

this company did ſtil meet together in one place: for it is ſaid, that when the Apoſtles were diſmiſſed from the Councill with threatnings, they went unto their own company and reported what the chiefe Prieſts and Elders had ſaid unto them, verſ. 23. And when they heard that, they lifted up their voyce in prayer to God with one accord, verſ. 24. And when they had prayed, the place was ſhaken where they were aſſembled together, verſ. 31. By which it is plain, that all this company, whether they were in all 5000. or (if you will have it ſo) 5000. beſides the former number, and ſo in all 8120. yet ſtill they were all aſſembled in one place.

And when after this, beleevers were more added to the Lord, multitudes both of men and women, Acts 5. 14. yet all that time they were all with one accord in *Salomons* Porch, verſ. 12. which ſhewes they were not yet ſo many, but all did meet together in one Congregation.

Furthermore, when after this, the number of Diſciples in Jeruſalem was more multiplied, Acts 6. 1. yet the Apoſtle called the multitude of them together, to propoſe unto them the choyce of Deacons, verſ. 2. and the matter being commended to them by the Apoſtles, it is ſaid, the ſaying pleaſed the whole multitude, and they choſe ſeven who are there named, verſ. 5. which ſhewes that the whole multitude was not ſo many, but they might aſſemble and come together in one place, to heare matters propoſed, and to make election of Officers.

After this indeed, this Church at Jeruſalem were all ſcattered by perſecution, except the Apoſtles, Acts 8. 1. But when a Church was gathered again by the Apoſtles Miniſtery, that Church, even all the multitude of them, as well as the Apoſtles and Elders, did all aſſemble and meet together with one accord in one congregation, about the buſineſſe of the controverſie that aroſe at Antioch; ſo it is plainly ſaid, Acts 15. That *Paul* and *Barnabas* comming from Antioch, were received of the Church at Jeruſalem, and of the Apoſtles and Elders, verſ. 4. And it pleaſed the Apoſtles and Elders, with the whole Church, to ſend meſſengers to Antioch, verſ. 22. and to that Church letters are written from the Apoſtles and Elders, and Brethren, verſ. 23. being all aſſembled with one accord, verſe 25. which plainly ſhewes that the Church at Jeruſalem at this time, did not conſiſt of Apoſtles and Elders alone, as a repreſentative Church, but of others alſo, who are expreſly diſtinguiſhed

ſtinguiſhed from thoſe officers: and yet all this Church did aſſemble with one accord in one place. Laſtly, for that place, 21. where you ſay;

It is plain, that when the Church met collectively, it was in the Presbyters and Elders. And that in this Church at Jeruſalem the collective meetings were repreſentative in their Elders.

The anſwer is, That wee deny not but Elders may meet apart from the multitude if there be occaſion, and ſo much may be proved from verſe 18. where it is ſaid, *Paul* went in unto *James*, and all the Elders were preſent; but this is nothing to the point in hand, That the Church at Jeruſalem was ſo numerous, that all the members could not meet in one, but in ſeverall congregations: Nay, that very place (though it ſpeak of many thouſand Jewes that did beleeve, verſe 20.) yet as it doth not ſay, that all theſe were of that one Church at Jeruſalem; ſo there are good Divines that doe think they were not: but if they were, it nothing prejudiceth our cauſe in this matter; for when *James* and the Elders ſpeaking to *Paul* of the Jewes, doe tell him, the multitude muſt needs come together, for they will heare that thou art come, verſe 22. It appeares thereby, that their multitude was not ſuch, but they might all aſſemble and come together.

If any ſay, How can theſe things be, that ſo many thouſands as were members of the Church at Jeruſalem, ſhould all yet be but one Congregation, beſides what hath been ſaid to ſhew that thus it was; ſuch an one may conſider further, that many thouſands, yea Miriads, were gathered together, *Luke* 12. 12. and Chriſt ſpake unto them all, though unto his Diſciples firſt, verſe 1, 14, 15, 54. and that Pariſhes in England in or about London, and elſe-where, as *Stepney*, *Giles*, *Sepulchres*, and others, have many thouſand inhabitants in them, all members of one Pariſhionall Church, and yet all but one Congregation. And that of *Chryſoſtome* on *Matth.* 24. who as Mr. *Bayn* reports, *Dioc. Triall, pag.* 16. did eſteem the company that heard his voice in one congregation, to be about 5000. perſons, and that by means of Scaffolds and Galleries, a man lifting up his voyce, may ſo ſpeak, as to be heard of thouſands at a time.

All which being conſidered, doe make it leſſe incredible, that the Church at Jeruſalem, conſiſting of ſuch a great multitude, yet for all that might bee no more but one ordinarie Congregation.

Next

Next, for the Church at Rome in the Apoſtles time, ſtiled every where in that Epiſtle, by the name of Church, not Churches. pag. 13.

Anſw. We ſuppoſe it is a plain miſtake, that the Church at Rome is every where in that Epiſtle ſtiled by the name of a *Church*. For ought we remember in that Epiſtle, it is never ſo ſtiled at all; and yet we deny not but it was a Church, and one Church.

But (ſay you) can it be thought that the faith and obedience of a Church in ſuch a citie, could be famous throughout all the world, as the Apoſtle ſpeaks, Rom. 1. 8. & 16. 19. *and yet but one ſingle independent congregation?*

Anſw. We know nothing to the contrary but it might be ſo: For the Church at Theſſalonica was but one congregation, and yet from them ſounded out the word of the Lord, not only in Macedonia and Achaia, but alſo in every place, their faith to Godward was ſpread abroad, 1 Theſſ. 1. 8. And there might be other means to make their faith famous, as well as plurality of congregations; as the reſort and confluence of people of all ſorts and nations to the place where this Church dwelt, Rome being the Seat of the Empire, and the Lady of Kingdomes at that time: Alſo the good will of the godly, the malice of the wicked, the newfangledneſſe of moſt, would open the mouthes of many to talke of the faith and profeſſion of the Chriſtian Romans, though they were no more but one congregation.

Thoſe very perſons and families named in the Apoſtles ſalutations of that Church, even thoſe choycer families were able to fill ſeverall congregations.

Anſw. We dare not ſay ſo: for there is not named above 30. in all. Sure if 30. families fill ſeverall congregations, then thoſe congregations muſt be very ſmall ones.

Tertullian *tells us, that in his time the citie was at leaſt halfe* Chriſtian: *And* Cornelius *tells us, that beſides himſelfe, there were in that Church* 45. *Presbyters.*

Anſw. But the queſtion being, whether many Congreations be frequently called in Scripture by the name of a Church, theſe teſtimonies being not from Scripture doe not ſuit the queſtion, therefore we will not inſiſt upon them, but onely ſay this much; that as they are both alledged by Doctor *Downam*, and them of the Hierarchy that plead for Dioceſan Churches againſt Congregational, ſo they are both ſufficiently anſwered by Mr. *Bain*, in his *Dioceſan triall*, p. 19, 20. and by the refuter of D. *Downams* Sermon at Lambeth. p. 65.

Next,

Next, the Church at Corinth every where ſtiled a Church, not Churches.

Anſw. This we grant: But why might it not be one Congregation, as well as one Church; The onely reaſon you bring to the contrary is, becauſe *They had ſo many Inſtructers,* 1 Cor. 4.15. *and Builders,* 1 Cor.3.12. *So many Prophets (ſay you) and Teachers, ſpeakers with Tongues,—— could not queſtionleſſe have their ordinary locall meetings, but by way of diſtribution into ſeverall congregations.*

Anſw. This arguing about the Church of Corinth, doth not very well agree with that which went before, p.12. where you ſeemed to grant, that though no other place in Scripture, yet that place, 1 Corinth.14. doth give the name of Church to one ſingle Congregation; whereas now you give Corinth alſo as one inſtance where many congregations are called a Church. It is ſtrange to us, how Corinth ſhould be an example of both theſe, viz. of the name of Church given to one ſingle congregation, as you doe acknowledge, pag. 12. and of many congregations called by the name of one Church, as now you would have it. But the place, 1. Cor. 14.23. that ſpeakes of the whole Church commiug together into one place, doth unavoidably prove (for ought we can diſcern) that Corinth had their meetings, and not by way of diſtribution into ſeverall Congregations, but altogether in one congregation: and doth alſo anſwer your reaſon drawn from the variety of Teachers and Prophets in that Church: For it is plain from that very Chapter, that the Church of Corinth had many Prophets; *Let the Prophets ſpeake two or three, and let the reſt judge,* verſ. 39. and many that ſpake with Tongues, who muſt ſpeake by courſe two or three. and one interpret, verſe 27. yea every one generally had a Pſalme, or a Doctrine, or a Revelation, or an Interpretation, verſe 26. as indeed they came behind in no gift, 1 Cor.1. & yet for all their variety of gifts, and gifted men, Prophets, Interpreters, ſpeakers with Tongues, and the like, both they and the whole Church alſo, even women and all, uſed to come together into one place.

But it is with much inſtance urged generally by all the Separatiſts, that thoſe among whom the Corinthian fornicatour was —— they were all to be gathered together, and all to deliver him to Satan; therefore the power of the keyes is alike in all the members, —— and not in the Elders alone. pag.14.

Anſw. This and all that follows for two whole pages may be ſomething pertaining to the ſecond of your three exceptions fore-

mentioned; but nothing concerns the Queſtion now in hand. For whether the Church of Corinth, that muſt excommunicate the inceſtuous man, were the Elders alone, as you hold; or all the people alſo, as others: This is nothing to the preſent point of the ſence of the word *Church*, which is, whether it be taken in Scripture, for many Congregations or one onely: and therefore we marvell why you would here bring it in. Neither indeed is it any thing to the maine Queſtion, of the Dependencie of Congregations upon the government of Synods; For if all were granted, that here is argued for, *viz.* that the Church that muſt excommunicate the delinquent Corinthian was not the common people, but the Elders alone, yet the authoritie of Synods is not a whit holpen thereby; unleſſe it could be proved that the Church of Corinth had no Elders of their own; which we are perſwaded you will not affirm, becauſe you grant pag. 13. that they had many Inſtructors, many builders, many leaders, many Prophets and Teachers. Wherefore this Diſpute being beſides the Queſtion, we will not ſpend time in anſwering of it, becauſe we would haſten to go forward with the reſt, that pertains to the Queſtion, as you have ſtated it.

Your laſt inſtance of many Congregations, called by the name of *Church*, is Epheſus, where you argue, *There muſt needs be many congregations, becauſe there was a great doore, and effectuall opened unto* Paul, *ſo mightily there grew the Word of God and prevailed, the greatneſſe of the price of the conjuring books burnt publickly, and God himſelf teſtifies, he had many people in that Citie.*

Anſw. When the Lord ſaith to *Paul, I have much people in the City*, it is a plain miſtake to underſtand this of Epheſus, for it was ſpoken of Corinth, and not of Epheſus. *Act.* 18. 10. But if it had been ſpoken of Epheſus, as we deny not, but that there were many Chriſtians there, how doth this prove the point, that they were not one Congregation, but many? We do not think they were more in number, then in Corinth and Jeruſalem, where the Chriſtians, as we have ſhewed, did uſually meet in one place; and therefore at Epheſus, they might do the like, though there were a great number of Chriſtians there.

As for that which you ſay, that at this Church could not poſſibly ordinarily in all its members meet but diſtributively; ſo that it did meet collectively in its Presbytery and Elderſhip; that which ordained Timothy *(there by the Apoſtles own teſtimony) appears in the* 17. 28. *and* 26. *verſes of the* 20. *Chapter, beyond all exception.*

We

We anſwer thereto, it is not beyond all exception, that at Epheſus was one Church conſiſting of many Congregations, which is our Queſtion. It may be granted that the Elders of that Church upon *Paul's* ſending for them did meet at Miletum apart from the people, as was noted before out of *Act.* 21. Of the Elders of Jeruſalem; but this is nothing to our Queſtion, whether a Church be many Congregations, or one onely.

As much might be ſaid of the other of the ſeven Churches of Aſia, with that at Antioch, Philippi and Theſſalonica.

Anſ. And if as much were ſaid of theſe as of the other, as much might alſo be anſwered. And though Philippi and Theſſalonica had many Biſhops, Deacons, Overſeers, yet all this is too ſhort to prove they were many Congregations; for what ſhould hinder but one Congregation may have many Officers?

That which followeth in this ſixteenth page, and ſo forward to the middle of pag. 19. is ſpent in anſwering the other two exceptions which you formerly propoſed pag. 11. Concerning which we need not to ſpend much time; the one of them, as we ſaid before, is altogether beſides the purpoſe, and on which ſide ſoever the truth doth lie in that matter, the preſent Queſtion is nothing at all cleared thereby; and for the other, we leave it to them that make it to undertake the defence of it. For us it is ſufficient to have ſhewed that all that you have ſaid from *Matth.* 18. *Tell the Church*, doth not prove that Congregations muſt depend upon the government of Synods, nor that many Congregations are in Scripture uſually called by the name of a Church; and this being alreadie performed in that which we have anſwered, we therefore now proceed to conſider of your third Argument.

CHAP. IIII.

Containing an Anſwer to your third Argument from Acts 15.

IF that all ancient and modern Writers, of all ſorts, (excepting onely ſome few of theſe laſt fiftie yeers, engaged by their own tenet of independency) have with one voice concluded this Chapter, a formall preſident for Synods, won'd weigh any thing herein, the matter would ſoon be at an end; but however the text it ſelf is ſo pregnant of this truth, that it hath of it ſelf ſtrength enough to deliver it ſelf of it.

Here's all that goes to the making up of a compleat Synod, Firſt, here's the occaſion —— Secondly, here's a deſignation both of the Commiſſioners and place, — Thirdly, here's the matter of a Synod, — Fourthly, here's the form of a Synod, — Fifthly, here's the end of a Synod, — Laſtly, here's the proper effect of a Synod, — pag. 19.

If all this were granted, yet the thing in difference, as your ſelf have ſtated the Queſtion, in pa. 2, 3, 4. of your book, is not concluded thereby. For all this that is here ſaid, goeth no further, but onely to ſhew that there ought to be Synods; whereas the queſtion is about the power of Synods, and how far the ſame doth reach, whether ſo far as that a Synod onely (and not a particular congregation) ought to ordain officers, and excommunicate offenders: and between theſe two is a wide difference; ſo that many a man may acknowledge the former, which is all that is here concluded, and yet not acknowledge the latter, which is the maine point, which ſhould have been cleared. For our parts we deny not but there ought to be Synods, and your Argument concludes no more: yea your ſelf do teſtifie, pag. 2. that thoſe whom you deal againſt, do acknowledge as much in effect as here by you is concluded; for there you ſay that they acknowledge, that neighbour Churches may meet, conſult and adviſe, &c. and if they acknowledge all this, then they acknowledge a uſe of Synods, becauſe theſe things we ſuppoſe, cannot be done by many Churches at once, unleſſe it be by their meſſengers, and Deputies aſſembled together, which Aſſembly is no other then a Synod. Wherefore ſith no more is here concluded, then is by the Independents parties (as you call them) acknowledged, we need not inſiſt long, in giving anſwer to this Argument. We will therefore onely briefly mention ſome grounds, that incline us to think that this Aſſembly in *Act.* 15. was a Synod, and then give ſome annotations upon ſome few paſſages in your Diſcourſe about this place, and ſo proceed to the next Argument. Touching the former, when we ſay this meeting in *Act.* 15. was a Synod, we mean at leaſt ſuch an one as Mr. *Parker Pol. Eccl. lib.* 2. *c.* 23. *Sect.* 1. underſtands it to be, *viz.* a conſociation or combination of more Churches then one, even of two at leaſt. Or as Doctor *Whitaker* who counts it neither a generall Councill, nor yet a Nationall, or Provinciall, but a particular Councill, as he cals it, leſſe then either of the other. *de Concil. Q.* 1. *c.* 2. And that matters were carried in it, in way of an ordinarie Synod, may appear by two things.

things. 1 The perſons imployed in it, which were not onely the Apoſtles, thoſe extraordinarie Officers, but alſo the ordinarie Elders and brethren of Jeruſalem. *Ver.* 6, 22, 23. And beſides *Paul* and *Barnabas*, certain others that were ſent with them from Antioch, *v.* 2. Secondly, the meanes uſed for clearing the controverſie, then in hand, was not the Apoſtolicall Authoritie, nor any extraordinarie revelation, vouchſafed to the Apoſtles and ſuch extraordinarie perſons: there is not a word mentioned of any ſuch things but the means they uſed, was the ſame, that is common to ordinarie Synods, *viz.* much diſputation, *v.* 7. *Peter's* experience of Gods bleſſing upon his Miniſterie, to *Cornelius*, and his companie, *v.* 7. And the like is done by *Paul* and *Barnabas*, for their part, *ver.* 12. And as for *James*, he alledgeth the teſtimonie of the Prophet *Amos*, *v.* 15, 16. and the Law of *Moſes*, read and preached in the Synagogues, everie Sabbath day, *v.* 21. Now all theſe means being no other, but ſuch as may be uſed, in ordinarie Synods, therefore we ſee no other, but this meeting might be ſuch an one.

Here it a deſignation (ſay you) of the Commiſſioners and place. p. 19.

Anſw. But theſe Commiſſioners, and this place, were deſigned onely by them of Antioch, *v.* 2. which ſhews that this meeting, was not of any more, but two Churches, Antioch and Jeruſalem: For if there had been more, how came it to paſſe, that onely they of Antioch determine the place? Reaſon would have required, that if there had been others, they alſo ſhould have had a voice in determining the place of meeting.

Here is the matter of a Synod, not onely Apoſtles but Elders, and of ſeverall Churches. pag. 20.

Anſw. True: but theſe Churches are not mentioned, to be any other, but onely Antioch and Jeruſalem.

Both thus meeting, to determine ſo great a matter, conſequently all matter of juriſdiction, is not confined to one ſingle Congregation. pag. 20.

Anſw. The matter determined, was a matter of doctrine, viz. whether Circumciſion was neceſſarie to ſalvation: *v.* 1. and therefore no matter of juriſdiction, unleſſe juriſdiction, and Doctrine be the ſame. And though they that taught this Doctrine, (if they perſiſted pertinaciouſly therein,) deſerved to be cenſured, as you do truly alledge, from *Tit.* 3. 10. Reject an heretick, the diſpencing of which cenſure, is a matter of juriſdiction. Yet (for ought that doth appear to the contrary) both theſe Churches might concur,

to clear up the doctrine, and yet one onely, even that congregation (whereof the offenders were properly members) might diſpence the cenſure, that was due for their pertinacious defence of ſuch Doctrine. The concurrence of both, to clear up the Doctrine, doth argue want of light in the one; but nevertheleſſe there might be entireneſſe, of juriſdiction in each.

But if Churches had then been independent, Antioch had undertaken and been able her ſelfe ſufficiently, and finally to have judged the cauſe, and prevented the danger.

Anſw. Antioch did undertake to have ended the matter among themſelves, and ſpent much time about it, before there was any ſpeech of ſeeking out for help elſewhere, as appears, verſ. 2. and this doth ſufficiently declare it, that they were not neceſſarily dependant upon any other Church, or Churches, but had right to have ended the matter within themſelves, if ability had ſerved thereto, or elſe this undertaking of theirs had been ſinfull, as being an attempting to doe that whereto they had no right. And though by reaſon of much diſſention among themſelves, they were forced to ſeek for help for ending the cauſe, this may argue want of ability and light, but argues not any want at all of authority or right: In which reſpect they might be independent, notwithſtanding their imperfection in the other regard. Suppoſe a father of children, or maſter of a family, through want of wiſdome, or courage, be not able to rule his own children, and houſhold, as *Eli*, or ſuppoſe a King that is a child, as *Salomon* ſpeaks, (*Eccleſ.* 10.) or Princes that are babes, (as the Prophet termeth them, *Iſai.* 3.) be not able to govern their own ſubjects, as *Rehoboam*, 2 King. 12. would you think this want of ſufficient ability, a ſufficient argument to prove, that ſuch a Father or Maſter, had no authority or right to rule his own children, or houſhold; nor ſuch a Prince any right to rule his ſubjects; but that the families of the one muſt depend upon other families; and the common-wealth of the other upon other common-wealths? We ſuppoſe you would not ſay ſo? And yet you may as well ſay it, as ſay as here you doe, that if Churches had been independent, Antioch had been able her ſelfe ſufficiently to have ended the cauſe. Antioch finding her ſelfe not able, may ſend to Jeruſalem for help; and yet this ſending neither proves right of juriſdiction in them of Jeruſalem, who are ſent unto, nor want of juriſdiction in them of Antioch, who ſo doe ſend. Yes, ſay you.

An

An obliging the Churches by decrees, laid on them, as a burden, is a uſe of the keyes, in which uſe of them, Epheſus is commended, Pergamus and Thyatyra reproved, pag. 25.

Anſw. But if this be a uſe of the Keyes, may it not be of the Key of Doctrine, as well as the Key of Diſcipline, ſith the burdens laid on them, were not burdens of penalty, but burdens of duty; not puniſhments to be ſuffered for offence given; but rules of practice to be obſerved, leſt offence ſhould be taken; as is plaine, if the particulars be conſidered, pag. 29. And therefore it ſeems the impoſing theſe burdens, was not ſo properly an act of juriſdiction, and diſcipline, as an act of Doctrine. As for Epheſus, the uſe of the Keyes (for which they are commended) is not (as you affirme) for impoſing decrees as burdens upon one another; nor is Pergamus or Thyatyra reproved, for neglect of ſo doing, but trying and detecting counterfeit Apoſtles, which was a matter of doctrine, and not bearing with them that were evil, which was matter of diſcipline, are the things for which Epheſus is commended; and ſuffring them which were evill (which was a neglect of Diſcipline) is that for which the other are reproved, Rev. 2. 2. 14. 20. But neither is the one commended for impoſing decrees, nor the other reproved for neglecting ſo to doe. But you will prove that the Synod had juriſdiction and power of the Keyes of diſcipline; becauſe, ſay you,

This Decree is it ſelf a Rule given, wherein and whereby to uſe the keyes, upon ſuch as ſhall prove ſtubborn, in defending the contrary of what is here decreed——, and that authority which can give the rule, can (a fortiori) *back and puniſh its breach*. p. 25.

Anſ. But is this certain and clear, that whoever hath authority by way of doctrine, to impoſe a rule, hath alſo authoritie, by way of diſcipline, to puniſh its breach? we propoſe to conſideration, theſe inſtances for the contrarie. Firſt of all the Prophets in Iſrael, *Iſaiah*, *Joel*, *Amos*, and the reſt, had authoritie by way of doctrine, (as being ſent of God for that purpoſe) to deliver the wil of God, as a rule to be obſerved, not onely by all the Princes, and people, but even by the Prieſts and Levits alſo; for ſo we read they many times did, and yet not being Prieſts themſelves, nor Levites, they had not authority to puniſh, by way of Diſcipline, ſuch as diſobeyed their doctrine, and thoſe holy rules which they delivered from the Lord.

Nextly, any one Miniſter, who is truely ſent of God, may in his doctrine

doctrine, deliver the rules of Gods word, to the people he is ſent unto, and impoſe thoſe rules as burthens, and neceſſary things to be obſerved; and yet one Miniſter alone cannot puniſh the breach of thoſe rules, in a way of diſcipline, becauſe Church-diſcipline is to be diſpenced by a Church, Matth. 18. 17. and one man alone (we are perſwaded) you will not ſay, can be a Church.

Further, any Miniſter or Miniſters of one Church (be it Congregationall or Nationall) may upon occaſion being deſired thereto, preach the word of God in another the like Church, and ſo impoſe burdens of Chriſtian duties to be obſerved by them, that they thus occaſionally preach unto; yet it would not follow they might by diſcipline puniſh ſuch as ſhould walke contrary to thoſe rules, becauſe the power of juriſdiction which they have when they are at home in their owne Church, doth not reach ſo farre as unto that other Church where now they are called to preach the doctrine of the word. Laſtly, there is no doubt but any Miniſter, or Miniſters of the Goſpel (if occaſion ſerved thereunto) might by way of Doctrine deliver rules of faith and obedience, unto Pagans, and ſuch as are no members of any Chriſtian Church at all, and might command them in the name of the Lord, to obſerve thoſe rules; and yet it would not therefore follow, that they might puniſh thoſe Pagans in a way of diſcipline, for the breach of thoſe rules; becauſe the Apoſtle ſaith plainly, *What have I to doe to judge them that are without?* 1 Cor. 5. 12. Yea, there are ſundry good Writers in reformed Churches, who do hold, that Doctors in the Church have authority by their office, to deliver ſound wholſome doctrine, from the Scriptures, and yet may not meddle, with diſpenſation of Sacraments, nor Diſcipline; See among others for this, *Calvines Inſtit. lib.* 4. *Ch.* 3. *Sect.* 4. And if this be ſo, this may be another inſtance for the ſame purpoſe as the reſt, and by all this, we ſuppoſe it is clear, that ſome men may have authoritie, by way of doctrine, to impoſe rules, that muſt be obſerved, as neceſſary things, and yet not have authoritie, by way of diſcipline, to puniſh thoſe that ſhall diſobey thoſe rules. And therefore though the firſt of theſe were granted, to be within the power of a Synod, yet that they have power to do the other alſo, is not proved thereby.

CHAP.

CHAP. V.

Containing an Anſwer to your fourth Argument, taken from 1 Tim. 4. 14. *laying on of the hands of the Presbytery.*

HEnce I argue thus. *Such as are for independency, admit of no other rule in Church-government, but the Scripture practiſe or inſtitution, but where in all the Scripture, read we of any ordination, of Paſtors, but by Presbyters?* — Timothy *was ordained by the laying on of the hands of the Presbytery:* Titus *was for this very cauſe, left at Creet that he ſhould ordain Elders in every City.* pag. 26, 27.

Anſw. All that is here ſaid is onely about ordination of Officers, which (at the moſt) is but one part of the Eccleſiaſticall government, or juriſdiction. And therefore if it were granted, that this ordination belongeth onely to a Synod, yet the Queſtion (being not of one part, but of the whole juriſdiction) is not concluded thereby. Nevertheleſſe we are willing to conſider what is ſaid about this particular, and therefore our Anſwer is diſtinctly thus. 1 That if a Congregation have Elders of it own, then when other Officers are to be ordained, in that Church, ſuch ordination is to be performed, by the impoſition of the hands of thoſe Elders. This we never denied, and a good deale of your proofs, do conclude no more. For what if the Presbyterie at Epheſus, did lay hands upon *Timothy*, 1 *Tim.* 4. 14. and the Presbyterie, at Antioch upon *Paul*, and *Barnabas*, *Act.* 13. 1, 2. which are two of your proofs? this may evince, that in Churches furniſhed with a Presbyterie, (as Epheſus and Antioch were) that that Presbyterie is to perform impoſition of hands, which is nothing againſt us, neither do willingly acknowledge the ſame.

But it may be in this Argument you intend a further matter, *viz.* that ordination cannot be performed lawfully, by any, but onely by Elders.

For where (ſay you) in all the Scripture do we read of any ordination of Paſtors but by Presbyters?

Whereto we anſwer three things. 1 That we do read of ſuch a matter in the Scripture. 2 That if we did not, yet we read ſo much as by good conſequence doth infer the lawfulneſſe of the practiſe. 3 That which we do read, that may ſeeme, to make againſt this practiſe, is not becauſe the thing, is in every caſe, unlawfull, but

for other reaſons. 1 For the firſt of theſe, we alledge *Numb.* 8. 10. which place ſheweth, that though the Levites were Church Officers, and the Children of Iſrael were none, yet the Children of Iſrael did lay their hands upon the Levites; by which Scripture, thus much is manifeſt, that when a Church hath no Elders, but the firſt Elders themſelves are to be ordained, and this at ſuch times, and in ſuch places, where Elders can not conveniently be borrowed from any other Church, in ſuch caſe impoſition of hands may lawfully be performed, by ſome principall men of the Congregation, although they be not Elders by office; for ſith it was ſo in the Church of Iſrael as this text doth witneſſe, what ſhould hinder but in the like caſe, the like may be lawfully done in theſe dayes? If any ſhall ask how was it poſſible, that the Children of Iſrael, being 600000 ſhould all lay hands upon the Levites at once? *Anſwer.* It is not like that all did it, but ſome inſtead of the reſt: and ſo when ſome do impoſe hands, in ſtead of all the Congregation, that may be ſufficient.

If it ſhall be ſaid, theſe Children of Iſrael, might be Elders, and ſo their example will be no warrant for impoſition of hands by non-elders: The anſwer is, it is like they were Elders, as being the chief and principall members, of the Congregation; but yet their example proveth the point if two things be conſidered. Firſt, that they did not this as a work peculiar to them as Elders. Secondly, that they did it not for themſelves onely, but for all the Congregation; the former of which may be thus manifeſted; If they did it as Elders, then either as Elders and Governours Eccleſiaſticall, or as Civill governours but not the firſt, for that charge was onely belonging to *Aaron* and his ſons, *Levit.* 8. and theſe Levites now ordained, If the ſecond be ſaid, then it will follow, that Civill Magiſtrates though no Church officers, may impoſe hands in ordination of Church officers, and ſo the point is gained. For if Magiſtrates may do it, then it will follow that a Church wanting Magiſtrates may perform this action by other the fitteſt Inſtruments ſhe hath. For this is not a work properly tied to the Magiſtrates office; becauſe then the Church in the Apoſtles time, wanting Magiſtrates, could not have had Officers; the contrary whereof is manifeſt in the Scripture, *Act.* 14. 23. *Tit.* 1. 5. Secondly, as theſe Children of Iſrael (ſuppoſe they were the chief Fathers of families) impoſed hands on the Levites, not as Elders and governours Eccleſiaſticall,

ſiaſticall, or Civill but as principall members of the Church, ſo what was herein performed by them, was not done by themſelves onely, but for all the Congregation. And this appears, firſt becauſe theſe Levites now to be ordained by impoſition of hands, were taken in ſtead of all the firſt-born of Iſrael, and not in ſtead of the firſt born of Elders onely: *Numb.* 3. 40, 41. Secondly, they were preſented to the Lord, as an offering of the Children of Iſrael, *Numb.* 8. 11. and not of the Elders onely; and inaſmuch as all offerings were to be preſented at the doore of the Tabernacle, with the impoſition of his hands whoſe the offering was, *Levit.* 1. 3. 4. it is therfore evident, that they that impoſed hands on the Levites, did it in the name of all the people, whoſe offering theſe Levites were. Thirdly, it was uſuall, that when all the multitude brought an oblation, the Elders put their hands on the head of the ſacrifice. *Levit.* 4. 14, 15. *viz.* in ſtead of all the multitude, whoſe the ſacrifice was. And thus you ſee, we read in Scriptures of the impoſition of hands, performed by them that were no Elders, by office, and ſo this demand of yours, where in Scripture do we read of ſuch a practiſe, is anſwered. But if we did not read of any ſuch thing, yet it may ſuffice (which was our ſecond particular to be proved) that we do read ſo much as by good conſequence, inferreth the lawfulneſſe of the practiſe. And for this purpoſe, firſt, we propound *Act.* 1. *Act.* 6. and *Act.* 14. where we read of the peoples electing, and chuſing officers, of which places, more may be ſpoken afterward; Now if the people may elect Officers, then in ſome caſes, they may ordain them alſo, becauſe ordination is leſſe then election, and depends upon it as a neceſſarie antecedent; by vertue whereof it is juſtly adminiſtred. Yea it is not onely leſſe then election, but leſſe in the ſame kind, being nothing elſe, but the accompliſhment of election, or the admiſſion of a perſon into the poſſeſſion of that office, whereto he had right before by election. And hence it follows by good conſequence, that if a ſingle congregation, may elect officers, which is the greater, they may alſo in ſome caſe ordain them, which is the leſſer. For your ſelf do grant that to argue affirmatively, from the greater, to the leſſer in the ſame kind is good conſequence, and ſuch is this; Which kind of arguing is alſo uſed by Doctor *Whitaker* concerning this very particular.

Beſides, we read, Heb. 6. 2. that impoſition of hands is amongſt the principles of religion, and joyned by the Apoſtle with baptiſme,

reſurrection, and the eternall judgement; and therefore an inſtitution of ordinary and perpetuall uſe, as all principles are, and ſo not to be omitted in the ordination of Officers. And if ſo, it will therefore follow, that in ſome caſe it may be performed by ſuch as are not in office; becauſe the caſe may ſo be, that otherwiſe it cannot be performed at all, ſo that either no Officers muſt be ordained, nor any impoſition of hands uſed at all; or elſe impoſition of hands in ſome caſe may be performed by them that are not in office. Now that it cannot alwayes be performed by Officers, three inſtances make it manifeſt: First, when there are no Officers of any other Church to be had, as at the firſt riſe of the firſt Chriſtian Church in a Pagan Countrey, far remote from all Churches, as here in America by the Engliſh; & in the caſe which you put of a company of Chriſtians by ſhipwrack caſt upon an Iland where no Paſtors were. Secondly, when thoſe that may be had, are ſo exceedingly corrupt, and the Churches to whom they do belong, that it could not be convenient to make uſe of them, but very dangerous to fetch ordination onely from them, as at the firſt reformation after the times of Popery, when there were none to be had, but from the Popiſh Biſhops and Prieſts; from whom to receive ordination, were as much as to ſay, either that the Miniſters of Antichriſt may ordain Miniſters to the Church of Chriſt, or elſe that Popiſh Biſhops are true Miniſters of Chriſt: And ſure if Chriſtians might not have any Miniſters, unleſſe ordained by the Popiſh Biſhops, the caſe were as pittifull as if ſheep might have no Shepheards, but ſuch are appointed to them by the Wolves. Thirdly, when thoſe that are more deſireable, have no ſufficient calling to diſpence ordination in another Church which is the caſe when they are not requeſted thereto; For ſith ordinary Elders are not like Apoſtles, to feed all flocks, but that flock of God, which dependeth upon them, 1 Pet. 5.2. that flock over which the holy Ghoſt hath made them over-ſeers, Acts 20. 28. Therefore wee doe not underſtand, how they can aſſume authority and power unto themſelves, to ordain Elders to other Churches, whereof themſelves are neither Elders nor members, unleſſe they had a calling thereto, by the requeſt of that Church where the Elders are to be ordained. So that by theſe inſtances, it appeareth, that ſometimes officers of other Churches are not to be had, ſometimes thoſe that may be had, are as ill as none, and not to be depended on, or deſired; and ſometimes

times thoſe that are more deſireable, have no ſufficient calling to ordain Miniſters in any other Church; and therefore in ſuch caſes as theſe, ſith Officers muſt not be admitted without impoſition of hands, impoſition of hands muſt be performed by non-Officers.

But you will ſay, we read in ſundry places, where impoſition of hands, was performed by Elders, and not one place in all the new Teſtament, where it was performed by others. Whereto we anſwer, That all this is true, but nothing againſt what we have ſaid; becauſe (which was our third particular to be cleared) the true reaſon of this, that is here alledged, was not, as if ordination by non-Elders were in every caſe unlawfull: But becauſe in thoſe times Elders were not wanting; for there were the Apoſtles and Apoſtolicke men, who were Elders in all Churches. And we do willingly grant, that where a Church is furniſhed with Elders, impoſition of hands is to be performed by the Elders, and ſo much the examples in the New Teſtament doe evince. But we have alſo ſhewed from *Numb.* 8. that if there be no Elders, as at the firſt, nor any that can conveniently be gotten from other Churches, then impoſition of hands may lawfully be performed by others.

But you will prove, that it doth not belong to the congregation with or without a Paſtor, to ordain Elders; becauſe the rules of direction, how to proceed in ordination, and the Epiſtles wherein thoſe rules are, are not written or directed to the whole Churches of Epheſus or Creet, but to Timothy *and* Titus *only, as their inſcriptions ſpeaks.*

Anſw. If this be a ſufficient reaſon, to prove that the people may not in any caſe, meddle with ordination, then by as good a reaſon, a man may prove that ordination belongs not to the Presbytery, nor to the Synods, but onely to one man, as the Prelats would have it: for a man may turn the reaſon againſt your ſelfe, and ſay, The rules of direction how to proceed in ordination, and the Epiſtles wherein thoſe rules are, are not directed to any Presbytery or Synod at Epheſus or Creet, or any where elſe, but onely to *Timothy* and *Titus*, who were each of them but onely one man. But look how you would anſwer this plea for Epiſcopall ordination, the ſame anſwer may be given to yours. And for us, we cannot but approve the anſwer given to this kind of reaſoning, by the refuter of Doctor *Downhams* Sermon at Lambeth, who in his *Reply, part.* 2. *pag.* 107. doth ſhew, that the lawes of Church-government preſcribed in the

Epiſtles of *Timothy* and *Titus*, were not provided for Biſhops alone, nor Elders alone, but for a mixt ſtate, wherein many Presbyters under the guidance of one Paſtor or Preſident, doe adminiſter and execute all matters with the peoples conſent and approbation. In which affirmation he alledgeth the conſent of moſt & beſt Divines of later times, inſtancing in *Calvin* & *Beza*, & eſpecially the Apoſtles own warrant in the cloſe of thoſes Epiſtles, with theſe words, *Grace be with you*, or *with you all*, 2 *Tim.* 4. 22. *Tit.* 3. 15. And by this, ſaith he, it appeareth, that what was written ſpecially by name to *Timothy* & *Titus*, was intended to be of common uſe, not only for other miniſters, but alſo in ſome ſort to all the Saints that then converſed in thoſe places. Now if what was written by name to *Timothy* and *Titus*, was intended to be of common uſe to all the Saints, then there is no reaſon that you ſhould appropriate thoſe rules onely to the uſe of Presbyteries and Synods, no more then others only to the uſe of Prelats; eſpecially this being conſidered withall, that if once the Saints be excluded from being at all concerned in thoſe rules, they that would appropriate them to one man, have a fairer colour for their plea, then they that would appropriate them to a Presbyterie, or Synod, conſiſting of many; becauſe *Timothy* or *Titus* to whom thoſe Epiſtles are by name directed, are not many perſons, but either of them one onely.

But it appeares, ſay you, that we read in Scripture, that this part of Juriſdiction was diſpenſed by the Elderſhip onely, and that a conſociated Elderſhip. pag. 27.

Anſw. That it was diſpenſed by the Elderſhip, we willingly grant; but that it was diſpenſed by the Elderſhip onely, and that the Elderſhip by which it was diſpenſed, was a conſociated Elderſhip (that is to ſay, a Synod) neither of theſe doe appeare at all: Nay, we ſuppoſe the contrary to both theſe may appeare. For as for the former, we have ſhewed the contrary already; and for the latter, we will onely inſtance in that Elderſhip at Antioch, Acts 13. that laid hands on *Paul* and *Barnabas*, which Elderſhip was not any Synod, but an Elderſhip of one Congregation: for it is plain out of Acts 14. 27. that the Church of Antioch was no more then might be gathered together in one place; yea, the whole multitude of them were gathered together at the return of *Paul* and *Barnabas* from the Synod at Jeruſalem, to heare the Epiſtle read which was ſent from that Synod, Acts 15. 30. 31. And therefore this Church being

being but one Congregation, that Elderſhip therein by whom *Paul* and *Barnabas* were ordained, could not be any Synod.

But, ſay you, there muſt be triall of parties to be ordained, and hands muſt not be laid on ſuddenly on any, and 'tis laid down what kind of men they ought to be, before they be ordained. And that this triall and approbation of the parties to be ordained, is in the hands of the Presbyterie, and conſociated Elderſhip, not the whole. pa. 27.

Anſw. That they ought to be tried, before they be ordained, yea and afore they be choſen, we freely grant; but that this triall is in the Synod alone, hath not appeared, by the former texts, nor by any of them. We cannot perceive how any of them, do in any ſort, look towards ſuch a thing. And as for this which is here alledged of the impoſſibilitie of diſcharging it by a ſingle congregation, with or without a Paſtor; We anſwer thereto; Firſt, that if a Congregation that is without a Paſtor could not diſcharge it, yet if they be furniſhed with an able and faithfull Paſtor, we know not what ſhould hinder but they might be able thereto. An able and faithfull Paſtor, one would think ſhould be able to try others, that are to be ordained Paſtors; And therefore we marvell that you ſhould denie this abilitie to this Congregation, as well as to the other. Secondly, ſuppoſe they be without a Paſtor, yet if they be beleevers, they are not altogether without abilitie of ſpirituall diſcerning, to diſcern whether that which is taught be wholſome doctrine, or otherwiſe. Witneſſe the words of our Saviour, who ſaith, that his ſheep know his voice, but a ſtranger they will not follow, but will flee from him, for they know not the voice of ſtrangers: and though there had been many theeves and robbers, yet the ſheep did not hear them. *Joh.* 10. Which plainly ſhews, that the ſheep of Chriſt, have ſome abilitie, to trie and diſcern, whether the doctrine that men teach, be the wholſome Doctrine of truth, or otherwiſe. Which may be the more confirmed, by the promiſe, they ſhall be all taught of God, *Iſa.* 54.13. and by that of *Joh.* 7. that if any man will do Gods will, he ſhall know the doctrine, whether it be of God, or men ſpeak it of themſelves. There muſt be ſome abilitie to diſcern, whether men be qualified according to the rule, afore they ought to be elected, and choſen into office; and the people of God have ſo much abilitie, to diſcerne this fitneſſe, as that they may lawfully, make this election; and what then ſhould hinder, but they may have ſo much abilitie, as is of neceſſitie required,

afore

afore there be proceedings unto Ordination.

As for that instance which you give about the union of the two natures in the person of Christ, whether the nature assumed the nature, or the person the person; or the nature the person, or the person the nature. And again, whether this assumption was by way of composition, or conjunction, or conversion, or vision (we suppose it should be union) wherein you think it would be hard for these examiners in a congregation, to hit upon the right judgement, and of four Preachers to ordain him that were orthodox in this matter.

We say no more to this instance, but onely thus much, That as he is the best Preacher who most teacheth the people knowledge, *Eccles.* 12. and who had rather speake five words to the understanding, so as he may teach others, and the hearers be edified, rather then ten thousand words in a strange tongue, and uncoth termes, that himselfe might be admired, 1 *Cor.* 14. 19. So we know nothing but the people of God in a Congregation: these terms being explained unto them, might be able to discern which were the orthodox tenent of the four particulars, and accordingly pitch upon him that holds it.

Lastly, you speak, pag. 29. *of four things that are opposed about this matter of Ordination.*

Where, though we will not take upon us to justifie all those reasons, but leave them to the authors of them, to undertake the defence of them, if so be there be any that doe so argue; yet we may speak a word or two to some passages in your answer to these four particulars.

First of all, to the case of a *Company of Beleevers cast by ship-wrack upon an Island, where are no Pastors, your answer is, that the question is about the ordinary way of Scripture-institution in this matter of ordination, not what may be done in extraordinary cases.*

Whereby it seems that in the case proposed, you grant ordination may be performed by non-Elders. And if so, what then becomes of all you have said before of *Timothy* and *Titus*, and of the rules about Ordination in the Epistles to these two Evangelists, of the Presbytery at Antioch, that laid hands upon *Paul* and *Barnabas*, of the inability of people to examine and try who were fit for office, and the rest? For granting what here you doe, you plainly declare, that all your former reasoning amounts but to this much, That when Pastors can be had, then imposition of hands is best performed by those Pastors, otherwise it may be done without them;

them; wherein we for our parts conſent with you. But by this means the neceſſary dependance upon Synods for ordination of officers, is utterly overthrowne.

But, ſay you, Indepencie of every ſingle congregation, to bee the ordinary way, herein is the claime of the independent party.

Anſw. What others claim, they may declare their grounds for the ſame as they ſee cauſe; for our ſelves, that which we hold, with the grounds thereof, is briefly this, in four Propoſitions; two of them concerning what is to be done in caſe a Church have Elders of its own: and two concerning what is to be done in caſe it have not. In reſpect of the former.

Propoſition 1. If a Church have Elders of its own, impoſition of hands in ordination is to be performed by thoſe Elders, and not by the people.

Propoſition 2. A Church that hath Elders of its own, needs not to depend upon a Synod, or the Presbyteries of other Churches, conſociat or ſingle, for the the ordaining of its Officers; but the ſame may be performed lawfully and ſufficiently by its owne Elders.

In reſpect of the latter: 1. In a Church that hath no Elders, impoſition of hands in ordaining of officers, may lawfully be performed by ſome principall members in the congregation.

2. If the Church have Elders of its own, it may doe well to crave the approbation of the Miniſters of neighbouring congregations if there be any ſuch.

The grounds of the firſt and third of theſe Propoſitions hath been declared already; and for the ſecond we thus argue:

Arg. 1. If ſuch a Church may elect and chuſe Officers to it ſelf, without any neceſſary dependance upon Synods; then they may ordain them alſo, having ſo fit inſtruments as Elders of their own to doe it by. But the firſt is true, as we have elſewhere ſhewed in this Anſwer of ours: Therfore the ſecond is true alſo. The conſequence of the Major is cleare by this reaſon, That they which can doe the greater, can doe the leſſer alſo, if it be of the ſame kind.

Arg. 2. If ſuch a Church as we here ſpeak of, may not ordaine their Officers without dependance on a Synod, or a Claſſis; then neither may they adminiſter Seals without ſuch dependance: For

the word makes ſuch dependance, no more requiſite in the one caſe, then in the other.

Arg. 3. If it were not thus, it were not poſſible, there ſhould be any Synod or Claſſis upon the face of the earth; for what is a Claſſis or a Synod? but a companie of Miniſters or Elders, of ſeverall Congregations, aſſembled together to conſider of things concerning themſelves, and the Churches of Chriſt, ſpecially ſuch Churches, whereto they do peculiarly belong; Now this aſſembling of Elders into a Claſſis or Synod, doth imply that there were Elders before there was any Claſſis, or Synod; and if ſo, then certainly there was no concurrence, of the Claſſis or Synod in the ordination of thoſe Elders; ſith they were Elders before that Synod had any being; Which doth ſufficiently ſhew, that the concurrence of a Synod, is not alwaies required in the ordaining of Elders.

Obj. If it be ſaid the Synod did ordain *Timothy*, an Evangeliſt, an Officer of many Churches, 1 *Tim.* 4. 14. and therefore much more muſt ordain Officers of one particular Church.

The Anſwer is, firſt, that the conſequence is not ſtrong, becauſe a particular Church might have authoritie ſufficient, to ordain by their Elderſhip the Officers of their particular Church onely; and not ſufficient to ordain ſuch as muſt be Officers in all Churches, whatſoever. The help of a Claſſis or Synod, where is a combination or conſociation of Elders, of many Churches, might be requiſite for ordaining an Officer of many Churches, and yet the elderſhip of our particular Church, might be ſufficient for ordaining ſuch a one, as is to be officer, to no more but onely to that particular Church.

Secondly, the grounnd hence is not certain. For though *Timothy* was an Evangeliſt, and ſo to travell from one Church to another, yet the Presbyterie 1 *Tim.* 4. 14. that laid hands on him, might be the Presbyterie of one particular Church, and not any Synod or Claſſis. For *Paul* and *Barnabas* were Apoſtles, *Act.* 14. 4. and 14. *Gal.* 2. 9. and yet they were ordained, not by any Claſſis or Presbyterie of many Churches, but by the Presbyterie of one Church, the Church at Antioch. *Act.* 13. 1, 2, 3.

Thoſe (ſay they) that can do the greater (that is to ſay) make a Church, can do the leſſe, make Paſtors of that Church.

Anſ. We would rather argue thus; thoſe that have power of electing Officers, they have power of ordaining Officers; But the people

people that have no Officers, have the former. Therefore they have power to do the latter. The conſequence is proved, becauſe electing is greater then ordaining, and greater not in another kind, but in the ſame; *viz.* about the placing of a Miniſter, or the deſigning of a perſon to the office, of Miniſterie. Now an Argument from the greater to the leſſe, in the ſame kind, you confeſſe will hold.

Which viſible Miniſtery where it is, that propertie or proper power of ordaining Officers, it a neceſſarie and immediate ordinarie concomitant thereof. pag. 31.

Anſw. If this be ſo, then there may be Officers ordained, and not by a Synod, even in a particular congregation; becauſe in ſuch a one there may be a viſible Miniſterie.

Although that which you have ſaid in this Argument, be not expreſly againſt the Congregations, electing their Officers; but onely againſt their ordaining of them, by impoſition of hands; yet in aſmuch as ſundrie paſſages in your book, and in this Argument eſpecially, do ſeem to make as much againſt the one, as the other. Therefore as we have alreadie ſpoken, to the point of ordination, ſo we will alſo, for the Readers further direction, give ſome grounds for confirmation of this poſition, about election, *viz.* Election of ordinarie officers belongeth to the Church, whereof the partie is to be an officer, ſo that they proceed in this election, according to the rules of the Word; both chuſing a man fitted by God for the office, unto which they chuſe him, and carrying their choice, in an orderly manner. *Reaſon* 1 It was thus in the Apoſtles times, and therefore it ought to be ſo now. The antecedent is clear from *Act.* 1. where in the very choice of an Apoſtle, the Church are not wholly excluded; for though the office of an Apoſtle being extraordinarie, the expreſſe deſigning of the particular perſon, is determined by God by lot, yet the Church appoints two that one of them may be ſingled out, *v.* 23. and when the lot had fallen upon *Matthias*, it is ſaid he was numbred with the eleven Apoſtles, *v.* 26. that is, he was by common ſuffrage of the Church choſen to be of that number; for ſo doth the word ſignifie, that is uſed, συγκατψηφισθη and therefore it is tranſlated by *Scapula, Omnium calculis allectus.* And it is obſervable, that though the office was extraordinarie, and though the Apoſtles (who were extraordinarie officers, and had received their calling and extraordinarie authoritie from Chriſt himſelf, immediately) were now preſent, yet for

all this, the Church hath a ſtroke in this matter, both firſt appointing two, and then approving by their common ſuffrage or conſent him of the two, on whom the lot had fallen; to be for inſtruction unto us in after times, that in the choice of ordinarie officers, it ſhould be farre from any of the ſons of men, to exclude the people of God, from their right and intereſt therein; For if they had a ſtroke in the choice of an Apoſtle, how much more ſhould they have the like, in the choice of ordinarie officers? And if the Apoſtles themſelves being preſent, would not abridge the people of this libertie, much leſſe may others do it; doubtleſſe they that engroſſe the authoritie of chuſing Miniſters into their own hands, excluding the people, they arrogate more unto themſelves then the Apoſtles ever did. So likewiſe in *Act.* 6. when Deacons were to be appointed, the Apoſtles do not take all the buſineſſe into their own hands, as if election of ſuch officers appertained onely to themſelves, and not at all unto the people: but they call the whole multitude unto them, *ver.* 2. and bid them chuſe out ſeven men, fitly qualified for the office, *ver.* 3. and accordingly the ſaying pleaſed the whole multitude; and they choſe ſeven that are there named, *ver.* 5. and having ſo done, they ſet them before the Apoſtles that they might ordain them by laying their hands on them, *ver.* 6. And in *Act.* 14. 23. it is ſaid that the Apoſtles ordained Elders, by election, or lifting up of hands, (for ſo doth χειροτονησαντες ſignifie) in every Church.

Obj. The word ſignifieth nothing elſe, but laying on of hands, which was the act of the Apoſtles alone, and not of the people.

Anſ. The word is never uſed for laying on of hands in all the Scripture, but the word uſed for that is χειροθεσια, betwixt which and this word χειροτονια, there is as much difference as betweene holding up and laying down. If *Luke* the writer of the Acts had intended the laying on of hands, it had been eaſie for him to have uſed the other word, which is proper to expreſſe ſuch an action, and frequently uſed by himſelf in that ſence in this book. *Act.* 6. 6. and 8. 17. and 9. 17.

Object. But be it laying on, or lifting up, that was not the act of the people, but of the Apoſtle alone.

Anſw. Of the Apoſtles it is confeſſed: For who doubts, but as they moderated the whole action, and laid on their hands in ordination; ſo they might alſo concurre in the election, by lifting up

up their hands? But it will not follow, that therefore that lifting up of hands was performed by the Apoſtles onely; for elſewhere the word is uſed to expreſſe the act of the whole Church, and is tranſlated (*was choſen*, 2 Cor. 8. 19. χειροτονηθεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν; *was choſen of the Churches*: Even as one place mentioneth a gift that was in *Timothy*, by the laying on of *Pauls* hands, 2 *Tim.* 1. 6. which muſt not be underſtood of *Pauls* hands alone, becauſe another Scripture mentioneth the hands of the Presbytery, 1. *Tim.* 4. 14. By all which it appeareth, that in the Apoſtles times, the people had one hand in the election of their Officers. And if ſo, then it ought to be ſo alſo in theſe dayes: for the practice of the Apoſtles recorded in the Acts is preſidentiall for all Churches in all ages, in thoſe things that were not of particular reaſon and reſpect; which for the peoples chuſing their Miniſters, cannot be ſaid. Beſides, when the Apoſtles were alive, the Churches were in the greateſt purity, and therefore we may more ſafely tread in their ſteps. And further, if this practice had not been according to the mind of Chriſt, we may be ſure the Apoſtles would not have countenanced it, nor have directed the Churches to have uſed it, but would have left and preſcribed ſome other courſe to be obſerved in the choyce of Miniſters, which we ſee they have not done.

Secondly, if Miniſters muſt not be choſen by the Church, then either they muſt be called of God immediatly, or Miniſters without any calling at all, or be choſen and appointed by ſome other men: But not the firſt, becauſe ſuch immediate calling is now ceaſed (as being peculiar to the extraordinary function of Apoſtles, Prophets, &c.) which in theſe times are not to be expected; Nor the ſecond, becauſe that is expreſſ / againſt the Scripture, which ſaith, *No man muſt take this honour to himſelfe, but he that is called of God, as was Aaron*, *Heb.* 5. 4. And therefore they that ran when God ſent them not, are many times, and very ſharply reproved in the Prophets, *Jer.* 23. 21. Nor the third: For 1. God hath not given any ſuch authority to other men that are not of the Church, to appoint Officers to the Church: Nor 2. may ſome of the Church arrogate this power onely to themſelves, excluding the reſt; becauſe that which concerneth all (as this matter doth) ought to have approbation of all, unleſſe it might appeare, that God had committed the thing only to ſome, which for the chuſing of Officers cannot be ſaid. 3. It is ſutable to right reaſon, that it ſhould be thus: For 1. by this means

the liberty of the Church is not infringed by thruſting officers upon them without their conſent, and whom they never choſe. Alſo 2. this is a ſtrong engagement to the people, to yeeld due reverence, ſubjection and obedience to their Miniſters, becauſe they are the men whom themſelves have choſen; whereas one thruſt upon them againſt their wills, is not like to be much beloved, but rather contemned and hated; and how then ſhall they profit by his doctrine? Finally, the people have a right originally to chuſe their civil officers, as is alſo practiſed at this day in many places: And when the Lord brings a ſword upon a land, the Scripture ſaith expreſly, *that the people of the land may take a man of their coaſts, and ſet him for their watchman*, Ezek. 33. 2. And if ſo, then they may well have liberty to chuſe ſuch as muſt be watchmen for their ſouls: for it is much more unreaſonable, that there ſhould be thruſt upon them ſuch watchmen and officers, upon whom the ſalvation or damnation of their ſouls doth depend, then ſuch as upon whom dependeth no more but their wealth, or commodity of this life. And this ſhall ſuffice for anſwer to your fourth and laſt Argument.

There are in your book two other general heads which are ſomthing inſiſted on, the one about clearing ſuch objections as are not reducible to your former arguments; the other of appealing to the judgement of the adverſe party: In both which, though we might obſerve ſundry things which were worth your ſecond review, yet in asmuch as our *intentions* were chiefly to conſider the weight of your arguments, but not to undertake the defence of every objection which you propoſe; and conſidering withall, that thoſe conſiderations from the order, unity, peace, and ſtrength of government with the reſt, are not intended by you (as we ſuppoſe) as convincing, but onely as probable grounds againſt that way which you deale againſt; therfore for theſe and ſome other reaſons, having ſpoken to that which we conceive to be the main ſubſtance of your book, we will here for this time ſurceaſe, *praying the Father of mercies for Chriſt Jeſus his ſake, to poure out his rich bleſſings of truth & peace upon our deare native countrey, and to guide all his ſervants there & here by a Spirit of truth, into all truth. And to give us ſuch hearts and grace, that we may follow the truth in love, till Antichriſtianiſme be utterly rooted out, and Sion be reſtored, (eſpecially in England) to her former beauty, and new Jeruſalem come down from heaven, as a Bride adorned for her Husband, the Lord Jeſus Chriſt. To whom be all glory and praiſe for ever and ever. Amen.*

FINIS.

29

A

DECLARATION

Publiſhed in the County of *DEVON*

By that Grand Ambo-dexter,

Sir *George Chudleigh* Baronet,

To delude his Country-men in their Iudgement and Affections, touching the preſent differences between his Majeſtie and the PARLIAMENT.

Together with a full and ſatisfactory Anſwer thereunto, tranſmitted from thence under the Hand of a Iudicious and well Affected Patriot.

Printed according to Order.

LONDON

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Ann. Dom. 1644.

marth. 14 1643

A deluſory Declaration of *Sir George Chudleigh* Baronet.

THe ancient (if not the prime) fabricke of the famous Kingdom to be raiſed upon theſe three maine pillars, the Royall Soveraignty, and the two Houſes of Parliament, is ſo well known as it needs no declaration; as the proportionable ſtructure and diſpoſition of theſe three doth promiſe to the eye of reaſon, and ſound policie, nothing but uniformitie, ſtrength and beautie; ſo the experience of all ages hath conſtantly taught, as that the unitie and correſpondencie of theſe Fundamentall peeces hath beene the ſupport, preſervation, and happineſſe of the whole: and no leſſe apparent is it, that their diſjunction and ſeparation muſt be their totall ruine and deſtruction. The King hath Royall prerogatives undeniable, without which he cannot governe as a King: The two Houſes of Parliament have their peculiar priviledges, wherein every Subject hath his intereſt; the end of all is, that by a meet temper of their ſeverall rights, a Juſt frame of government may ariſe for the common good, which may reſtraine all exorbitant affections and attempts; if any happen in either part; now theſe prerogatives of the King, and priviledges of the Subject, though they have diſtinct operations, yet they are of ſo neere conjunction, as differences doe ſometime ariſe to interrupt their motion; much like the wheeles of a clocke or watch, ſo depending each upon other, as the ſmalleſt mote or hayre may beget a ſtop and diſorder, the greater care ſhould be had in the keepings but differences doe ſometime ariſe, though never (as I ſuppoſe) aggravated to that extremitie as now; petitions of right are commendable, Remonſtrances not unlawfull, but Armes though defenſive ſeeme doubtfull. My Lot fell to be caſt on the Parliaments ſide, by a ſtrong opinion I had of the goodnes of their cauſe, and the Loyall ſervice I ſhould do his Majeſtie, in defending that His high Court from the manifeſt enemies thus then to my judgement appeared againſt it: Religion and the Subjects lawfull rights ſeemed in danger, and the generall intereſt called for the common care to preſerve it, but I believe it hath gone too far; the deſtruction of a King doth cannot be the way to ſave it, the loſſe of Chriſtian Subjects, the Subjects loſſe of their Eſtates, by a double plunder or aſſeſſment, concurs not with piety nor yet with proprietie. Touching Religion, which is the chiefe, (and I confeſſe, in greateſt danger) his Majeſtie (whom God long preſerve) hath given us unqueſtionable ſecuritie during his own times; for the reſt the Lord of hoſts with me hath determined the controverſie, having done my utmoſt faithfully according to my Proteſtation, I have throwne my ſelfe at my Soveraignes feet, and embraced His gracious pardon, I will contend no more in word or deed. And this my reſolution with the indiſputable grounds thereof, I thought fit to declare to my friends and Country-men; that they may underſtand my ſitting downe to proceed from no compulſion, but the neceſſitie I conceive there is of ceaſing this deſtructive warre, unleſſe we will become the wilfull Authours of the calamities we would decline; this may ſuffice for this time, making my prayer according to my hopes for ſpeedy peace: but if the warre ſhall continue (which God forbid) I may happily take up ſome further determinations.

The answer to the Declaration.

Sir,

Meeting with a gallant Oration directed to your Countrymen, I conceived it concerned my selfe, and upon perusall found it to be an issue of your owne braine, both by the elegancie of the Phrase, and the Sophistrie of the matter: to be plaine, I must tell you, it's a lively Character of your selfe and Actions, wherein you discover learning enough for a countrie Iustice: you seeme to apprehend some generall notions and speculations of government, your intellect floats on the superficies, but your reason was never so weighty to sinke downe into the deep fundamentalls; you have gone beyond your lasse; when you talke of Fabricks, Pillars and Fundamentalls, you raise a top without a bottome: The learned will tell you that the prime and Ancient constitutions of this Kingdom were raised upon that which we call *Lex terræ*, the Law of the Land, and this Law is the pillar of Soveraignetie; safety and propriety enthrones the King, and sets the Royall Diademe on the head of Majestie, it is the rule as well of Soveraignetie as of obedience; abrogate Law, what becomes of Soveraignetie, when obedience is enfranchised? The wisest of Kings hath determined the question, *Plebs sine lege ruit*; And that learned ornament of the Law aged *Bracton* tells us, *Quod Rex attribuit legi, lex attribuit Regi*: which implies a reciprocall support each of other: the King giveth life and motion to the Law, and the Law retributes vertue and operation to the King: if so, why do you perywinck at the pillar? you were once accounted a pillar your selfe, and so you are still, as Lots wife for looking backe; but honest Countrey-man, herein appeares a Sophistrie; he rendereth you to Soveraignetie, but tels you not a word of Law; he knowes the rule, *frustra auxilium legis petat qui in legem peccat*: Certainely had he beene a well-wisher to the Law, he would have lent a hand to the Law, in raising the prime Fabricke; but what is the reason you doe not informe us of the pillars and Fundamentalls of the Law? why, the Fundamentalls themselves are the reasons, and they are, first; Generall Maximes; secondly, the Law of God, thirdly, eternall

eternall reason, fourthly, Acts of Parliament, fifthly, generall and approved customes: hath not your treacherie and Apostasie offended all these Fundamentalls? are not these the support, preservation and happinesse of the whole that you speake of? are not these the policie, strength and beautie of this nation? Why do you mistake the principall? I feare me; your wisedome is guiltie of a concealment; Why doe you traduce us with a partie-coloured Division, and take them *divisim*, which are not but *conjunctim*; The King and the two Houses of Parliament nominally three, but virtually one? Why doe you and your adherents abuse us all with your divisions, to tell us that the disjunction and separation of these must be our totall ruine and destruction? I must confesse it tends that way, the Kingdome divided cannot stand; but this text admits of a *Magis* and a *Minus*, the disease is not growne to that height; but there is a cure, we have a receit from *Solomon* the best naturallist in the world; *take away the wicked from before the King, and His throne shall be established*; this *probatum est*, doe not mistake your selfe, this must, this may be done without totall ruine or destruction, and let them be accursed that were the Authors of these exigents. But you tell us, the King hath Royall Prerogatives undeniable, without which he cannot govern as a King; this is granted and allowed: but what do you mean by these Prerogatives, a will at large, or commands illegal? can the King create Prerogatives *De novo* or *extempore*? herein againe you shew your sophistrie: now prerogatives are regulated, not exorbitant, but such as *Lex terræ* prescribes: the statutes *De prærogativa Regis*, are *declarativa antiqui, non introductiva novi Juris*? prerogative is a branch of the Common Law, this is a truth unquestionable; hath not then Prerogative its rise from the Law of the Land? I feare you couch an ill meaning under apparent truths; you say the two Houses of Parliament have their peculiar priviledges; you might truely have said, they had or ought to have: but can you say they have, when they are invaded, when there is an Actuall warre made against them, by a crew of such Royalists as your selfe? how can we expect a meet temper of these, or a just frame of government, when these exorbitant affections and attempts are above the frame of this government? you talke much of distinct operations, and the wheeles of a clocke, to shew you are an observer of times, rather then a preventer of the aggravation of the extremitie you speak of: you say petitions of Right are commendable; why did not you speake out and say, petitions of Right are necessary, when prerogative gives it a mortall wound, & destroyes a principall, that *Jus nunquam moritur*? Why, could you afford Remonstrances no better language, then that they were not unlawfull? are they not convenient, when

 necessitie

neceſſitie requires them? Armes (you ſay) though defenſive, ſeeme doubtfull: to whom doe they ſeeme ſo? It ſeemeth you degenerate from nature, Law, and Religion: is there not a cauſe? did *Davids* Army ſeem doubtfull? And why did you take up Armes at firſt? we are now ſenſible of the reaſon, you were a doubtfull man at firſt, but now we know what you are without Queſtion; you ſay, your Lot fell to be caſt on the Parliaments ſide, ſurely the Parliament had ill-fortune in that Lotterie. But you fell and were caſt, for you never ſtood right on the Parliaments ſide: you ſay, you had a ſtrong opinion of the goodnes of the cauſe, and of the Loyall ſervice you ſhould do His Majeſty in defending that His high Court of Parliament, from the manifeſt enmity that then to your judgement appeared againſt it: how comes your ſtrong opinion to be weakened? examine your ſelfe, when you loſt your goodneſſe, your judgement was infatuated, and then you deſerted Loyall ſervice to King and Parliament. When the Parliament truſted unfaithfull men, then the cauſe ſuffered, but the goodneſſe of it is not yet tainted. Why doe you caſt aſperſions on the Houſes of Parliament? it ſeems you are troubled with many Apparitions, when you ſaw Religion and the Subjects right ſeemed in danger: was it but a ſemblance? did you but ſee in a viſion the thouſands of ſlaughtered carkaſſes, whoſe death your unfaithfulneſſe ſeemes to be the Author, you would confeſſe with horrour and trembling, Religion and Right were in danger; what, hath the common care gone too farre to preſerve Religion and the Subjects right as (you ſay) you feare it hath? nay can it goe too far? I wiſh you had as much faith as feare, then you would have put into your creede that Religion, and the Subjects right were in danger. The deſtruction of a Kingdome cannot be the way to ſave it: tis a truth, why then have you walked in thoſe wayes of deſtruction? for our parts we deſire to walke in the wayes of God: to meet him in our faſting, in our prayers, in our Humiliations, and in our reformations: and doubt not but we ſhall finde him in the preſervation of this Kingdome from deſtruction: you ſay the loſſe of Chriſtian Subjects, of eſtates double plundred, and aſſeſſements, concur not with pietie nor propriety; tis a truth, and could not the old Sophiſter cite a Text, but miſapply it? who is it that hath inacted all theſe offences to be lawfull? hath made murther lawfull, ſtealing lawfull, violence and oppreſſion lawfull, Idolatry, ſwearing, Sabbath-breaking, whoring, drinking, blaſpheming; nay, are not theſe accounted acceptable ſervices to God? nay, who is it that putteth theſe things in practice? Theſe things I confeſſe concurre not with piety nor propriety; Religion, you ſay, ſeemed in danger; and did it but ſeeme

ſo

ſo? Let me put you a caſe: if there be a Nurſing Father, and a Nurſing Mother of contrary Religions, of what Religion are you ſure their children would be? The Civill-law tels us, *Partus ſequitur ventrem*, and wee know by experience, children delight in the dugs and infuſions of the mother; the mothers Beads and Pictures are more delightfull to children, then the ſerious and wiſe Inſtruction of the father. You tell us you have unqueſtionable ſecurity, for Religion; but for how long? you ſay, during the Kings owne time; I wiſh, *O King live for ever*: yet give me leave to tell you, you have a very uncertain eſtate in Religion, the King hath no Prerogative above Subjects in the certainty of his life; let mee adviſe you to take a further and better eſtate in Religion, you may procure it as good cheap to you, and the heires males of your body, as you may for three lives: to be ſerious, doth your care for religion extend no further then during the Kings own time? what will you and your poſterity doe afterward? it ſeemeth by your following diſcourſe, that you meane to ſit downe, and to leave Religion and Law to the wide world: is it not a paradox, to maintaine the Proteſtant Religion with Popiſh Armies? you ſay his Majeſtie hath given you unqueſtionable ſecurity touching Religion: what ſecurity, or what religion doe you meane? though you keepe that to your ſelfe, yet if his Majeſtie were redeemed out of the hands of thoſe of your religion and Ends, we ſhould as little doubt the ſecurity of our Religion as you. You pray that God would long preſerve the King, with a Parentheſis, but wee will pray for the long preſervation of the King with an Emphaſis, and never leave praying till we have prayed him out of your hands; for we cannot thinke him ſafe there: aſſure your ſelfe, we will ſacrifice our ſelves to reduce him to his Center the Parliament, where by the Lawes he ought to be, and hope to bring all your confederates to the throne of Iuſtice, where his Majeſtie being eſtabliſhed by his Lawes, ſhall pronounce the ſentence of unfaithfulneſſe againſt you: but how can you for ſhame ſay you have done your utmoſt, according to your Proteſtation? I confeſſe I cannot without indignation confute you, I pitty your Apoſtaſie, it needs no demonſtration; have you thrown your ſelfe at your Soveraignes feet? it is your duty: and imbraced his gracious pardon? I commend your wiſdome: you ſtand in need of more pardons then one, if you would but take a ſurvey of what you have done: I muſt confeſſe we have all offended, and have neede of pardon, but in this wherein have I offended his Majeſtie, that he ſhould hunt after my life as a Partrich? I will ſue to God for pardon of my ſins, but I will never betray mine owne innocencie.

For the reſt, you ſay, the Lord of Hoſts with you hath decided the Controverſie. what do you mean by the reſt, and what controverſie do you

mean

mean? when had you a right of Association to sit in Judgement, and decide controversies with the Lord of Hosts? what do you mean by those lofty straines, 'tis as proud a theame as that of an insolent Prelate, *Ego & Rex meus, &c.* the Lord of Hosts with you is an elevation above the Pole. You say you will contend no more in word or deed: What will you do no more for your God, your King, nor your Countrey? it seemeth you resolve to be but a neuter at best.

Thirdly, you say that this your resolution, with the indisputable grounds thereof, you thought fit to declare unto your friends and countrey-men; where do you finde such indisputable grounds for such ignoble resolutions? should so active, so wise a man as your self sit down and be a spectator of your countries Tragedie, and neither speak a word to preserve it, nor do one good deed to revive it? but base resolutions have proud thoughts. You presently fall upon a strange conceit, that your sitting down with your Declaration, will of necessity end these destructive wars; why are you so self-conceited, to thinke your precedent will draw the whole world into your imitation? are your positions so positive, that they are undeniable, unquestionable, and indisputable? from whom have your conceptions such a prerogative? If you have such indisputable things, why do you not produce them for the common good? Then you conclude with a menace to your countrey-men, that if the war cease not, you will take up some further determinations; what determinations do you mean? I must needs say you are the intricatest man that ever I read; but I guesse at your meaning, you will be a looker on, and at last determine, like a door on his hinges, to turne either way, so you think in your judgement, that a neuter will be entertained at your pleasure, of either party. I have spoken my thoughts, and so leave you to your owne conceits and fortunes.

FINIS.

Numb. 38.

THE PARLIAMENT SCOVT.

Communicating His Intelligence TO THE KINGDOME.

From Friday the 3. of March, to Friday the 13. of March. 1643

FRiday and Saturday, we understood more fully the surprise of those, said to be the Princes Troop; at first, that they were not the Princes troop, but the remainder of the Prince Regiment coming to recruit one at Banbury, & that a party from *Warwick* commanded by Capt. *Hawker* surprised them, the manner, as before, before they were dresst; they chide not so total a surprise, but that one got away & gave notice to Banbury, who sent out a party of about 120. horse, which pursued them to recover the prisoners; but the wary Captaine sends away his prisoners with about thirty of his men, and withall dispatches one to Warwick for more help, this done, he with his small remainder,

mainder, looks the enemy in the face, and at the end of a lane holds him play for a good while, but at last was constrained to retreate into a Church, which done, horse and all, having about ten Muskets, he defended the Church so long, untill relief drew neere, which the enemy discovering, offered termes of accord; which were, that if they would send back the prisoners before taken, they should have liberty to depart to Warwick, but this they would not do, being confident the party of relief drew neere, the enemy not obtaining their desires, set fire of some ricks and houses, and retreated, they in the Church being reinforced by their supply, pursued them in their retreat, killed one, and took a Knights son prisoner.

Hence now consider, if the Princes Regiment were no more in number (its like the rest of the Oxford Regiments do not exceed, and that sure the whole power of that party is much diminished, and that they are very low, sure they never recovered the battell of Newbery to this day, or there is some defect in their Counsells, its like they have transmitted their power to the Members of Parliament.

This day we understood Coll. *Beare* went out in a silent way from Warwick, with about 200. horse load of Ammunition, and being come to Stratford, sent before a party to discover, who before they were aware fell into an ambush of the enemies, and had hard work to get off, they lost fourty men; we fear they went not forward: This confirmes that we said the last week, that it was like to be a difficult piece to send relief to Glocester, and we yet perceive that the enemy will not be drawn thence by any approaching powers, if possible he can help it, but if he do not he is like to smart for it, for we understood the same day that the forces that were about Redding, were gone many miles beyond it Westward; and that Colonell *Cromwell* is preparing additionall powers to those quartered about Buckingham: The same day we had newes that the *Welsh* partie, for so is it called, had had several skirmishes, and had also surprised some horse,

From Northampton we also understood that Coll. *Hastings* drivers had been met with in Leicestershire, and the cattell they were driving rescued from them, & that 60. were slain and taken prisoners, one Captaine *Manwaring* was shot dead in the place.

We had newes Saturday from Huntington, that my Lord *Willoughbies* Troopes had fallen upon a Troope belonging to Belvoir Castle and took all but three of them.

The States Ambassadours Saturday had speech with some of our Lords, and delivered something that they had in charge from Oxford, they are forthwith to returne againe, as it is credibly informed.

Monday we had a confirmation of the defeat the Lord *Hastings* had had, it was the same in which Captaine *Manwaring* was killed, it was one of the greatest that the poor Lord ever had.

The same day we had news from Sir *John Meldrum*, that he had taken the Bridge of Newark, and was now able to stop all provisions from coming to them, they are said to want salt and wood in the Town, which if true, then no doubt but the Town will be ours within 12. or 14. dayes; which had, there will many conveniences follow, as poore Lincolnshire, so much wasted, will have the souldiers march away, and then have at Belvoir castle, and castle Ashbie, both which will be suddenly ours, and the Vale of Bever all freed, and so contributions and pay will be had from more places, and the burden lesse upon others.

We understood this day, that Colonell *Norton* had fallen upon a party of the Lord *Hoptons* horse, and slaine, and taken eighty, Sir *John Steel* himselfe slaine upon the place; and likewise that the forces commanded by Sir *William Belfore* have fallen in their advance towards Winchester, upon some carts laden with provisions going for Bazing house, and took it away, cut in pieces, and took some fourty that were the Convoy.

This day we had a confirmation of what you had in our last, which was that the Scots fourteen thousand foot, & three thousand horse were come over the Tine, so that we doubt not, but

the enemy hath thereupon retreated, and that the Scots are poſſeſt of Sunderland, and ſo there will come coales ſuddenly.

It will not be amiſſe for the Oxford party to bethink themſelves of complyance or flight; for if the Earle of Newcaſtle be retreated, and the Scots got on both ſides the Towne, they may eaſily with 10000 men block it up, and with the reſt purſue their enemy, and then farewell the North.

We ſhall not touch upon the Enemies activity in plundering of Amerſome, and other places in Buckingham ſhire, Sir *Iacob Aſhley* himſelfe crying, *Good Boyes, ſpare none*: we would willingly tell you of ſome other of his valiant Acts, but cannot, unleſſe it be his beating the Scots at Newburne, and his ſo bravely holding out Newcaſtle againſt them; he deſerves as well to be made a Lord as Colonell *Haſtings*, both in regard of his valour and revenue.

This day the Houſe agreed upon the ſeven Foot-Colonels for my Lord Generall, whereof his Excellency is firſt Major Generall, ſecondly, my Lord *Roberts*, thirdly, Col. *Hobart*, fourthly, Col. *Barkley*, fifthly, Col. *Cunningham*, ſixthly, and my Lord Generall hath the Caſting-voyce whether Colonell *Turell* or Col. *Martin* ſhall be the ſeventh: which are moſt honourable additions to his Excellency, that he can diminiſh himſelfe to advance the publick.

We receive from abroad ſtrange newes, *viz.* That the Emperour of Muſcovia hath cauſed the King of Denmarks Left-handed Son to be cut in peeces that was to marry his Daughter, and becauſe Left-handed: the Sweads Embaſſadour intimating, that the Princes of Chriſtendome did much wonder that he ſhould marry his daughter to a Baſtard. There is a report that the Prince of Tranſilvania is in action, being aſſured of ſupplyes from the Turk, ſo that the Emperour is like to have this next Summer work that way, which had he not, he would let faire to diſturbe all Chriſtendome, ſo great are his powers preparing. The King of Denmark is like to loſe all: the Sweads

invite the Hollanders and Hanse-townes to chase with them. Believe it, this businesse makes all wise States look about them, when we said some weekes since the addition of that to the Crowne of Sweaden, was dangerous, we were counted Malignant, but how ever there was good reason of State for what was said.

The Lord *Gowring* is come a little neerer England, the better to passe his Letters with secrecy to Oxford.

We were made to believe upon Tuesday, that the Earle of Newcastle is in Newcastle, if it be so, then sure he is weary of his Majesties service. We also were told that Gen. *Lesley* had his Head quarter neere Durham, and that Generall *King* is come with the remaining powers towards York. We also understood more fully of the service of Col. *Lambert*, and that he took eleven Colours about Leeds, and that Col. *Constable* had surprized eleven Troops, and Stamford Bridge, four Brasse Peeces, and divers barrels of powder. Likewise that some defeat had been given by Col. *Bere* to some of that party that lyes about Easum, but of that there is some *qu.* We hear that our ships have possest themselves of Milford Haven, and of such strength as the Enemy had there either by Sea or Land, by which means Bristoll will not be so serviceable to the Enemy as otherwise it would have beene: Wee may hap light now both upon their Merchandize, and upon the Irish as they passe to Bristoll.

The Governour of Northampton hath lately sent out severall parties upon occasion, as to Warwick to augment the Convoy which is not yet thought to be strong enough, and also to Hilldon House there went a party of foot, who behaved themselves gallantly, especially the Governours own Company who were commanded by Captaine *Guy*, who first entred the house and slew most of them that were killed, who were not put to the sword but were slain in fight after they were entred, not craving quarter. They have sent out another party to Col. *Cromels* quarter, himselfe is gone to Cambridge, hasting the remaining powers to their Head quarters.

We

We had Wednesday some Letters that intimated an intent to attach Newarke by force, which we wish may succeed well: but Malignants say, the powers within are too numerous for the besiegers; yet its reported that they within being out of hope of relefe, offer to yeeld the Town in case they may depart with bag and baggage; beleeve it if the Towne come so easily, the work will not be long in hand that is to do.

We heard the same day, that the powers of the enemy about Easum are foure thousand horse, one thousand Dragoones, and two thousand foot, yet others beleeve them not so many; but in all other parts they are weak, yea at Oxford it selfe: Prince *Rupert* we heare drawes from about Shrewsbury parts, towards Leicester and Newarke, but his number we heare not, nor whether he will go so far as Newarke, as is reported.

The Bishop of Canterbury had a sad day Tuesday, as to the businesse of making an Act of State more binding then an Act of Parliament; he made his defence, and that was said to be admirable, that he that had declared, and said so much for the Law, should open his mouth to say any thing in the disparagement of it.

The Commons considered Thursday of the sequestration of my Lord of *Holland*, which in regard it is like to be a leading Case, will take up the more time. The Dutch Ambassadours sent to let Master Speaker know, that they had some Propositions to make to him from Oxford, tending to an accord. We understood that Plimouth is in a good posture, and increases in friends. We do not hear that Sir *William Wallers*, and Sir *William Belfords* powers are as yet joyned, onely they increase apace from severall parts.

My Lord Generall sent his Trumpeter with a Letter from the Parliament, in answer to his Majesties Letter, intreating his returne to his Parliament at Westminster.

There are Letters come from severall parts, that speake of a fight

fight betweene Prince *Rupert* and Sir *William Faifax*, about Whitchurch, some of the Letters say, that Sir *William* is shrewdly beaten, but the report from Worcester, and so from Warwick, say Prince *Rupert* was beaten, and that he is returned, and was expected at Pashaw, and so to Eafum. Letters tell us, there was a small party that convoyed a Gentleman from Sir *John Meldrums* quarters before Newark, who in their passage to Burleigh in Rutland, understood of some of Belvoir horse that were thereabouts, fell upon them, and took many of them, and after went close to the Castle and drove away twenty oxen, and two hundred sheep, without any disturbance. The party that was to convoy the Ammunition to Gloceſter are returned, and are quartered between Warwick and Coventrie.

Some Objections made against the Covenant, answered.

Ob. The first: I sweare to defend the Scots Doctrine, Worship and Government, against the common enemy, which Doctrine, Worship and Government, may have many errours in it for ought I know.

Answ. The Doctrine, Discipline, and Government of the Lutheran Churches, hath many faults in them, and so the Calvinists, and in particular the English; as the Lutherans hold Consubstantiation, Ubiquity, and Images, the French hold all dayes alike, the English governe by Archbishops and Bishops; may not all these joyne with Scotland and make one Army, one Generall to defend their Religion against the Pope, and house of *Austria* in case they joyne together, or any other in Armes to destroy and root out all contrary Religions to their own: This no understanding man sure will deny, it being clear from the light of nature, and at this time practised both by the Swedes, Hollanders, Lady of Hessen, and many other Princes, and hath bin in all ages, for in defending another, with my self, I defend my self, & the other, where as in case I had not both might have been destroyed, and in so doing I approve not of the errors in that Religion nor theirs of others.

Second objection is, I sweare to destroy a Law in being, which I have sworne in my oath of Allegiance to observe, keep and defend, as in particular the Government by Archbishops and Bishops.

Answ. It were better to be uniform with the Scots.

Answ. If a Law be found inconvenient, notwithstanding I have [illegible] to observe it, yet I may Petition for a repeale, as for example, in Law of Queen *Mary*, was that the Popes Supremacy be here erected, and that the Bible be not made use of by the Common people in their vulgar tongue; now let the greatest Oxfordian say, if it be not lawfull for the Lords and Commons to petition for the repealing of this Law, yea for the people also, though that ought to be rare; but it will be said the King is peremptory, he will not give his assent, but rather then he will heare his Parliament, gather forces, and uphold these two notorious evils, what ever comes.

Then there is as good reason that the Lords and Commons and people should enter Covenant to root out all such as have seduced the King, that he contrary to the Law of reason, should in the first place peremptorily deny any thing that his Parliament shall tender him; Its not denied but the King hath a rationall Negative voice at all times, but in case his better reason be rejected.

The people of England Petition that the Parliament will represent to the Kings Majesty the abolishing of the Government Episcopall by many yeares experience as intollerable, well neere as either of the two sorts, at least as it was managed; the Parliament draw up a bill and supplycate a repeale, this his Majestie peremptorily denies, which he ought not to doe at any time: Yea more, an Episcopall party drawes him from his Parliament, and though for other ends, yet chiefly for to uphold by the sword their Hierarchy. Is it not in this case lawfull to enter Covenant to root out this government notwithstanding my oath, its most certain it is: for I swear no longer to keep a humane law then it will stand with the weale-publick of my countrey, whereof I am a Member. For though in many cases I may not break such a Law, though in some I may; yet the Parliament and people may petition for a repealing of any law whom time and experience hath made universally evill or inconvenient.

For example, there is a law, that if any shall speak against the Common Prayer Book they shall be punished thus and thus; and this might be a good law when it was made, for the speaking against it might have set the kingdome on fire in civill dissentions and warres, such were the ignorance of those times: but now men are grown to more maturity in knowledge, and can say it was ordained for times of ignorance, when men could not pray without; but they are like to go alone, therefore they may throw away their Crutch or Staffe, and we may petition to have it set aside, the better to be uniforme with the Scots.

Printed for Robert White *according to Order.*

March 15. 22 Numb. 12

OCCURRENCES

Of Certain Speciall and Remarkable Passages in PARLIAMENT, and the affaires of the Kingdome.

Published according to Order, for fuller satisfaction.

Containing these particulars.

1 *How Sir* William Belfore *fell upon the enemies Quarters at Oxford on Tuesday last, and the number of the prisoners he tooke, and carried away from thence.*

2 *How our Forces fell upon the enemie neere Kirkleſſe,*

Tooke 4 *Lieutenant Collonels and Serieant Maiors.*

7 *Captains,* 11 *Cornets*

300 *Souldiers,* *Bag and baggage.*

3 *How* 100 *Ladies and Gentlewomen were sent out if Newarke, but not permitted to passe our Force, who caused them to returne in again.*

4 *A great victory obtained by Collonel Cunstable against the Earle of Newcastles Forces, and how he tooke from the enemy,*

Their Garrison.

10 *Captains, Lieutenants, and Commissioners of Array.*

200 *Souldiers,* } 3 *Pieces of Ordnance,*

300 *Armes,* } 14 *Barrels of powder.*

5 *The Testimony of the witnesses against the Arch-bishop of Canterbury, at his tryall upon the twofirst Articles,*

6 *The taking of Durham by the Scots, besides divers other Occurrences from their Armie,*

7 *The Lord* Willowbies *breaking into Newarke at the mill, and how on Thursday March* 7 *was slain and taken Prisoners* 200.

Slain { *Lieutenant Collonell* Aire, { *Cap.* Bently,
{ *Cap.* Hollis { *Divers common Souldiers.*

Certified by a Letter from CAPTAIN CLAYTON.

London, Printed for *Andrew Coe, Anno Dom.* 1643.

OCCURRENCES

Of the moſt Remarkable Paſſages of Parliament, and the affairs of the Kingdome, for fuller ſatisfaction.

THe Lord *Fairfax* doth ſtill enlarge his Quarters, and his two valiant Champions Colonell *Conſtable*, and Col. *Lambert*, grow ſtill victorious.

Col. *Conſtable* marching toward *York*, quartered at *Pocklington*, and from thence marched to the Enemies Quarters, and faced their Garriſon at Tadcaſter Bridge, within ten miles of *York*, on the Eaſtſide fell upon the Enemy, and in ſhort time took it; in which Garriſon hee tooke ten Captains, Lieutenants and Commiſſioners of Array, beſides other Officers two hundred and odde Souldiers, three hundred Arms, three peeces of Ordnance, fourteen barrels of Gunpowder, beſides match and divers other purchaſe.

Col. *Lambert* hearing that a party were gathering againſt him to reſiſt him in the Weſt Riding of Yorkſhire, drew out his forces to meet them, and diſcovering the Enemy neer Kirkleſſe, conſiſting of eleven Troopes of Horſe, as good as the Enemie could raine, Col. *Lambert* drew out a ſmall partie which he ſent upon the

the forlorn hope, to draw the Enemie in to a noose, who discovering only so small a partie of our men; marched towar ds them: our men began to retreat, the Enemy followed. In the interim. Colonell *Lambert* having wisely carried the businesse, had placed a party of each side of the Enemy, so that they were surrounded ere they were aware: and with verie little harme The valiant Col. *Lambert* surprised them of three sides: there being a great River on the other side; so that they all became his prisoners, save only two or three that swam over; so that those whether they were drowned, or got save over ashore, I cannot give any account.

A List of what was taken.

Foure Lievtenant Colonels, and Serjeant Majors.
Seven Captains,
Eleven Cornets.
Three hundred Souldiers and other Officers.

There Armes verie broken and imperfect, and some purchase which the Enemie had pillaged in the Countrie.

The Enemie was Friday last scouting neer Southampton, but Col. *Norton* sent out two parties of Horse one to fall upon the Front; and the other upon the Reare: who played their parts with such wisdome and discretion that they surprized sixtie and odde, besides two Cornets and other Officers, with little losse on their one partie: and carried them prisoners to Colonell *Norton* into Southampton.

Concerning the proceeding of the Archbishop of Canterburies Triall on Tuesday, I shall give you no account at all: because it is alreadie published, save only that in one thing we may believe him: namely, that hee stopt many from going to Rome, and placed some of those who would have gone to be Fellows in Colledges in the Universitie: which was the only way to confirme Poperie in England: as also who can be ignorant what a cunning was this, to bring up Scholers to his own hand by such an ingagement.

But for his Triall on Wednesday, I shall give you an account by and by.

From Newarke by a Letter from Captain *Clayton* to his Father it is certified

Captain Claytons *Letter.*

VPon Thursday last March the 7. the Parliaments Forces did kill and take prisoners 200 of the enemies, in which fight were slain

Lieutenant Collonell *Aires*,
Captain *Hollis*,
Captain *Bently*,
Besides divers Commanders.

March 9. 1643.

One thing in the said Letter which is most remarkeable is this, that the aforesaid Captain *Clayton*, that much beloved and valiant Gentleman, after he was returned from carrying up a company of fresh souldiers, to relieve a guard neere the enemie at *Newarke*, as he was standing a very small space betwixt the Lord *Willobie* and Sir *John Meldrum*, by a shot made from the enemies workes, was wounded in the neck, as dead for the present, and lay so a good space, but came to himselfe again, and is pretty well again, and of very good hope to recouer, and to continue an instrument to advance the cause of God, which is his desire and prayer, as he hath expressed in his letter to his Father.

They have also taken their flag of defence which our Forces keepe, they have taken a mill at one end of the Towne, and the enemie sounded a parley, in which they desired to passe away with bag and baggage, and then they would deliver up the Towne, but it was denyed them, our Commanders being resolved to have all or none.

There is reported to be in Newarke 1000 horse, and the most part of the Malignant gentry of those parts, namely, Nottinghamshire, Lincolneshire, and some other adjacent Countries,

plate and welth good ſtore, but the greateſt part of the Ammunition was lately removed to relieve the E. of Neweaſtle, yet the laſt convoy was ſtopt, and that Ammunition remains ſtill in Newarke.

There were 200 and odde Ladies and gentlewomen, which came out of Newarke to our Quarters, deſiring to paſſe with their lives, beging with great earneſtneſſe to be expoſed to any miſery, rather then to returne back to Newarke, but they were cauſed to return back to helpe the enemy to eat up that proviſion they have.

And ſome ſay that Newarke is taken, and that it was brought to the Lord Admirall that it was certainly taken, but except I knew it to be ſo I will not publiſh it for truth, although I am confident they cannot hold out long.

The Ammunition deſigned for Gloſter I heare is there ſafe. When it paſſed neereſt to the enemies Quarters, which was on Thurſday laſt, Sir *Wil. Belfore* drew neere Oxford in the interim to give them an alarme, wich was done with great wiſdome and valour.

Sir *Wil. Belfore*, that euer renowned Gentleman, with a party from his Excellencies Quarters faced Oxford on Tueſday laſt, and ſurpriſed 12 of them, and carried them all away priſoners without any loſſe at all, it ſeemes they lie very cloſe to have two ſuch Alarmes given them in one weeke, as this and that of Col: *Crummels*.

The next day being Wedneſday Sir *William* marched to the ſiege at Banbury.

The E. of *Clare* is at Saint *Albones*, as I am certified by one of his Excellencies officers, and another Gentleman with him, I take it to be Collocell *Ruſſel*, The E. of *Clare* is reſolved to caſt himſelfe at the Lords Feete at the Barre, and to take the Covenant, reſolving to be content with what cenſure ſoever their Lordſhips ſhall put upon him.

On

On Munday March the 13. the Arch Bishop was brought to the Barre in the Lords house twise, once in the forenoon and once in the Afternoon.

The Articles then insisted upon were these.

1 That hee hath traiterously endeavoured to subvert the fundamentall Laws, and government of the Kingdome of England, and in stead thereof to introduce an Arbitrary and Tirannical Government against Law, and to that end hath wickedly and traiterously advised his Majesty that hee might at his own will and pleasure, leavie, and take money of his Subjects, without their consent in Parliament, and this he affirmed was warrantable by the Law of God.

2 That he hath for the better accomplishment of that his traiterous designe, advised and procured divers Sermons and other discourses to be preached, printed, and published, in which the Authority of Parliaments, and the force of the Laws of the Kingdome are denyed, and an absolute and unlimited power over the persons and estates of his Majesties subjects, is maintained and defended, not onely in the King but also in himselfe and other Bishops, above and against the Law: And he hath been a great protector, favourer and promoter of the publishers of such false and pernitious opinions.

These things were fully proved by many witnesses against him, which as Mr. *Maynard* worthily observed, desiring the Lords to consider that there were so many lines, all which met at one and the same centure, concerning divers severall persons, and things, that it did prove him the more criminall, *viz.*

It was proved against him, that hee wickedly and maliciously advised the Kings Majesty (that if the last parliament should prove peevish to dissolve it.

And accordingly the same was dissolved, also that concerning the Aldermen of the City was proved against him, his advice to Doctor *Manwaring* was also fully proved against him, in a book he said Doctor *Manwaring* published, that the

King

King might quash any Laws at his pleasure, for which the Arch Bishop often solicited his Majesty for his preferment, And this the Arch-bishop endeavoured to cast upon his Majesty, and said that his Majestie commanded him to put him in minde of him. But as Mr. *Maynard* observed to the Lords there was no proof for that but the Archbishops own words, which to cast off such a blemish from himselfe upon his Majestie was not to be believed: And as Serjeant *Wild* said well Such are wicked Ministers that cause his Majestie to doe such things; for Princes are advised by their Ministers, who are chiefey in fault and not his Majestie.

Doctor *Heylings* advancement by the Arch-bishop and his Doctor *Lambe*, for abusing the Parliament and the liberty of the Subject, was also fully proved against him.

His cruelty to Mr. *Walker* of Saint *Johns* was also proved against him, onely for preaching that the Law of God, is above the Laws of man, And when Mr. *Walkers* writings were perused after his sufferings, the Arch Bishop had marked every passage therein, that was against Popery, Arminianisme, or the like, to be criminall.

He was also proved to be the chiefe in the imposing of the Bishops last Cannons after the Parliament was broke up, and in contempt of Parliaments, and to keepe downe Parliaments for ever if he could, as also the imposition of foure shillings in the pound upon the clergie, which the Arch-bishop said was a free contribution, but was proved a heavie imposition, and a great penalty laid upon the same, concerning which Serjeant *Wilde* made a very grave expression, the substance whereof was this.

My Lords,

I desire your Lordships to consider the Arch-bishops cruelty herein, to his own brethren of the Clergie, on whom hee caused this heavie imposition to be laid, who being so cruell in the fleecing of his own flock: Consider I beseech you what he would

would have been in time to the reſt of the Kingdome, had hee had that power over us, for which he ſo much laboured.

Theſe are but the heads of ſome proceedings, as much as I could afford roome for in this ſingle ſheet of paper, in which I have engaged my ſelf to publiſh not one but many Occurrences for the ſatisfaction of the Kingdome.

On Saturday next they proceed againſt him again.

Sir *Alexander Dainton* is comming up: and it is ſaid hee deſires to take the Covenant, or to doe any thing ſo hee may but finde mercie. But Captaine *Smith* that perfidious revolter will no donbt receive his demerit from his Excellencie.

It is reported that Col. *Mitton* hath loſt two Troops of horſes which were ſurpriſed by the Enemy neere Wem in Shropſhire: falling thereupon our Quarters, but the truth thereof is brought to Sir *Wil. Brewerton*, that hee loſt only ſixteene men, and hath received no other loſſe at all.

The Scots Occurrences.

By occurrences from the North it is certified, that the Enemy diſcovering the Scots to be come over Tyne, gathered to an head at Durham: The Scots having left a ſtrong Gariſon before Newcaſtle: devided that part of their Army which they brought over Tyne into two parts, with the one they quited *Wſworth*, Sunderland Farnton Houſe, and thoſe parts and the reſt marched towards Durham, They Enemy fled ſtill before them to Darlington: Barnard Caſtle, and other places in the South parts: The Scots ſtill march forwards, and as it is reported part of them are in Durham.

The Malignants being fled with the enemy before the Scots, the reſt of the Biſhoprick came in freely to take the Covenant.

Publiſhed according to Order.

Ephemerides K.

THE NEW BLOODY

23

ALMANACK

For this insuing yeare, beginnig March the 25. 1643 and ending March 25 1645. In which *England* is directed, to foreknow what shall come to passe, according to many predictions: Being a perfect abstract of the Prophesies of the best approved. Out of Scripture, Astrologie, and Prophesy. and some observations from that admired Astrologer of our dayes. Mr. *JOHN BOOKER*.

Also other Prophesies by Walgrave, Merlin, and Cardan.

A cold Summer, wocat, old Men die, much wind Grasse.

Warres, commons rising, Popery pull downe Peare Church and Kingdome secure

A cold winter, Townes fired, Peaves plenty, a glorious State.

March 25 LONDON, Printed by *John Hammond*, 1643.

The new bloody Almanack.

READER, thou art heare presented with an old *Almanack* relation, to this insuing yeare 1644. written one hundred thirty, and six yeares since; by *John Walgrave*, whose manuscript hath beene kept in a library in *Bedford-shire* and now remaines in the custody of Mr. *John Gwin* Minister of *Tople* in the same County, and it is truely gathered according to the rule of the originall coppy, written by the Authors owne hand in Vellome; with Gold, Blood, and Jnck, wherein is found these observations upon the yeare in generall, *viz.*

From the 25. of *March* to the last of *December* 1644. there are these Pictures drawen in the sayd Vellome, *viz.* Bee-hives turned up side downe, and the Bees flying away, Arrowes flying in the ayre dead Bodyes rapt in shrines with Crosses, Crucifixes on there brests, upon the shrines, Mountaines and Hills and one with a Crowne on his head and Starres about him, over which, is likewise written thus; *viz.* A cold Sommer, foule weather Bees goe away, Hunger in the Land, death of Children, a full and glorious state, much wind.

From the last of *December* to *March* the 25. following, there are likewise a Woman in Winter habit, ripe corne a great tree with an Axe lying on the ground at the roote thereof, a Lord and a Lady, with a gold ring between them, a round Globe without a Crosse, a Bullock, two Pidgeons billing each other &c. a forlorn Crosse thrown at upon the mountaines, winden Winter so so, new Lawes, much fayre Cattle; and a fayre Sea.

These be his Emblems, and these be his own interpretations under which himselfe subscribed thus; which still remaines in letters of Gold, *viz.*

John Walgrave his bit recit
in bills ka efer Anno Dom. 1508.

John

John Walgraves predictions, upon each Moneth in the yeare.

IN *April*, *Sol* is in *Taurus*, cold and moyſt (many alom) the Emblems are firſt two Women lying dead upon the ground with papers in their hands, corne growing thick, and meaſures thereof upheape Land to Bee-hives ſubſcriped thus, If it thunder in *April*, it tokeneth death of Women, good corne and many Bees.

In *May*, *Sol* is in *Gemini*, hot and moyſt, (*ma thum*) the Emblems are two trees, a Sithe & two young Cavaliers with Arrowes at their throats, over which is written thus, May tokeneth hunger in the Land.

In *June*, *Sol* is in *Cancer*, cold and moyſt (indifferent) the Emblems are a dry and barren mountaine with dead trees, having neither fruite nor leaves thereon, having a Lyon on the one ſide of it and a Wolfe on the other, and this inſcription upon the ſame, written over it in old (Engliſh) *June* tokeneth wood (that is mad and furious Beaſts,) as Wolves, Lions and others that are wild and great Floods.

In *July*, *Sol* is in *Leo*, hot and dry, (evill to bleede) the pictures painted in this Vellome are for this month, are a Sithe, a Bullock: and an heart, and this obſervation thereupon, *July*, tokeneth good Birds and ſtrong Beaſts.

In *Auguſt*, *Sol* is in *Virgo* cold and dry, (indifferent) the Emblems are a great Gun: two open hands, and a woman lying ſolitary upon the ground: over which is written thus *Auguſt* tokeneth ſore ſickneſſe and much pilgrimage.

In *September*, *Sol* is in *Libra*, hot and moyſt: (good to bleed) there is pictured for this Moneth men all in armour, lying dead upon the ground and guns and fireworkes, and the inſcription over the ſame is this, *September* betokeneth warres in the Land ſlaine in their armour.

In *October*, *Sol* is in *Scorpio*: (cold and moyſt) (indifferent) the Emblems are firſt, winde iſſuing out from an heade and tops of hills and Mountaines in the middeſt of water: and laſtly great ſpreading trees from which Emblems is obſerved in *October* betokeneth great windes, and Floods, and much fruit.

In *November*, *Sol* is in *Sagitarius* hot and dry: (good to bleed) the Emblems are full measures of corne, and great store of corne growing: and this inscription above the same, *November* betokeneth much corne, and joy in the Land.

In *December Sol* is in *Capricornus* hot and dry: (good to bleed) the Emblems are a vessell of Wine, and men and women embracing and kissing each other: over which is written thus, *viz.* *December* tokeneth many Love daves. And an increase of wealth to Marchants, with Peace, with Love, joy and wealth, together with the word of truth, which the Lord hasten to poure *England*.

In *January Sol* is in *Aquaries*, cold and moyst, (good) and there is the picture of a great head blowing forth winde, great Mountaines. And swords, and bills, over which is written thus, *viz.* *January* betokens great warre, and Floods much warre.

In *Febuary Sol* is in *Pisces*, cold and moyst (indifferent,) and there is the picture of a spade, two old men in gownes, dead upon the ground, and two Gentlewomen in black baggs mourning and a little water: the Lands end by the Sea side, over which is like wise written in old English; as much as thus, *viz.* *Febuary* tokeneth death of *Marchants* and *Mariners*.

In *March Sol* is in *Aries*, hot and dry; (good to bleed) the pictures are, a great head blowing forth furious winds; and three Gentlemen led by one bearing a poleax before them, and one bearing a crosse upon his neck following them, and in the last place a great block: the observation upon these Emblems is this; *March* betokeneth great windes and Floods, and the commons arising.

M. Iohn Bookers emphatical observations on this present yeare, 1644.

IN the new Moone preventionall, *Marce* wholy possesseth the Heaven, which happineth on the 27. of *Febuary*. *Marce* being Lord of the yeare, he was in the first house: doth threaten losses, abortment and greivous labour to those that are with Child.

Jupiter hath the next preheminence to *Marce*, and his position at the sunne ingresse into *Aries* in the first house, it maketh the condition of seruants, and foure footed beasts, happy and prosperous. And so much the

more

more because his happily joyned with *Venus*, temperateth the aire, and bringeth in the Northren windes. In the new Moone preventiall he was in the eight house, decreasing the signes of death, and in the full Moone *postuentionall* in the eleventh house, and increasing the fortune, and renowne of life, giveth guises unlooked for.

Saturne challengeth the third place, who at the sunns entrance into *Aries*, in combust of the sunn in the first house, and in his fall fortelleth losse to many: and griefe of those that are at liberty: and strife with a certaine *Ambassadour*: or a certaine Generall of an *Army*. In the new Moone preveronall, he is in the seventh house very neere *Venus*, who is almost in the eight, and both very unfortunate signifying death of women, and of foure footed beasts. and at the full Moone postuentionall, he is in the eleventh house, the Moone separating from the opposition of the sunn to oppositions, cunsing an opening of the gates of Heaven cold raines fleete or snow, and hale: and a Doubled unto some aire, and deceiveth the hope, and expectation of many and bringeth mischefe and doubts.

Mercury hath the fowerth place, he at the sunns ingresse into *Aries*: being unhappily placed in the end of the fourth house, in his detriment and very nigh the *Dragons* taile, and Retrograde, signifyeth a prison for the Clerkes of an Office: and for those that have the keeping of the common treasure: and will hurt women with child: that they will neither suffer abortment, or will never come to birth. In the new Moone *postuentionall* he is in the seventh house, wherein signifyeth the unlawfull accompanying in the act of generation which Idren, and the avoyding of women. At the first Moone post *ventionall*, he is in the end if the middle of Heaven unfortunate casting downe the *Scribes*, and the learned men from their honours to a Captaine shippe, and to the publike reward of Cities.

Thus farre of the principall signifycations of the yeare in this spring quarter which end on Monday the tenth of *June*.

Jehovah Zabaoth sighteth for my sex him arise, and let his enemies be dispersed.

Thus sayre Mr. *Rocker*.

Cardan fortells us concerning this spring quarter in which *Mars* ruleth: that it signifies burning of houses: thunder haile, and warre but the reason is because reignes little in *Saturnes* house, but in the turning of the yeare, at the entrance of the sunn into *Aries* in the third house in the end thereof: is signefies enmity, and increaseth hatred: and disturbeth alience every where and because he is nere the fourth house: and the Moone in a gynde signe: is lately fallen of from her opposition; doth pull downe her poysoned

nature

nature against and infects the planets; and doth foresheet great effusion of blood; especially about the end of the yeare.

Thus farre Mr. *Bookers* cotation of *Cardan*.

Thus it remaines written by learned *Meglin* in his observations upon *Easter*.

we shall deale at this present concerning those 500. men --- in *Susa* with the 10. sonnes of the great Favourite.

THE end of the enemies of the Church, is at the last shamefull, and full of sorrow: and their wicked counsells turne at the last to their distruction: and are made a ruin and confusion unto them: first therefore the day of this execution is noted the 13. day of the 12. moneth *Ader*; which answereth to part of our *Febuary*, and the begining of *March*. In that day the counsells of the enemies are reported to fall out contrary to their opinions, for when they hoped to exercise dominion over the people of God, themselves receive the overthrow: so the lots which the great Favourite cast, that he might find a fit day to roote out the people of God: were found to be deceitfull and lying: and those who put their trust in them, receive a iust reward of their impiety.

Although therefore, it sometimes fall, out that *Satan* the author of all sorceries: inchantments, and devination, do speake truth (God by his iust indgment and vengance giving force unto his errours) yet this is his only end, to delude, and draw into perdition, all those curious folke which employ themselves to such arts, full of sacrilidge; and impiety, that those who were not Lovers of the truth, may perish as they have deserved: for as much as they have left God, in whom is the fountain of life and truth, to turne themselves unto the author of death and father of lyes. By this meanes were

our

our Idolatrous *Leagen* deceived, who by force of the *Bulls* and *Pardons* they had from the Pope of their *Iubilees*, Pilgrimages, processions: of their madnesse in the worshipping of *Images*, and foolish devotions; and by the fortelling of certaine *Almanackes*, and deceits of other like leger-du-maines, did promise unto themselves, the wished and happy end of their purposes, which is the abolishing of the Reformed Churches and Doctrine of the Gospell. But the time and day which seemed unto them fit for their desinements turnes unto them, in a day of sorrow, shame, and eternall confusion---- The people of God then wisely provide for the affaires: not giving themselves so to ioy, and gladnesse, but dilligently stand upon their guard, provide them of *Armour*; gather themselves together at certaine times and places, and principally did fly unto God by prayers, desiring that he who hither had shewed them so great favour, would make perfect the worke of their deliverance, and surely then had they most neede of Gods helpe, when they fight with their enemies, for unlesse God had danted their courage and weakened their force and prowesse, there was now hope they should be vanquished.

Furthermore, they conteine themselves within the bonds of the proclamation, that they onely use force, against those that seeke their hurt; that is those that were in armes to hurt their wives and children: *for this was the forme of the first edict.*

But by what Law do they take up armes against them. Even bearing themselves bold upon the Kings Decree, which was not called back, although one contrary be published.

Thus farre *Merlin*.

AN

Old Prophesy concerning the great Turke.

Patissa homomos ghelur, taiferun menleker alur kenzal almai alur kapze iler ie di &c.

In

In English thus.

OUR Emperour shall come, he shall possesse the Realme of an Infidell Prince, he shall take the read apple, and mak it subject to his power. If at the seventh yeare of his command, the Christian sword doth not advance, he shall rule unto the twelfth yeare, he shall build houses plant vines compasse in gardens with hedges, and beget children: but after the twelfe yeare that he hath held the red apple, the Christian sword shall appeare, and put the *Turks* to flight.

A Prophese of Merlins.

The crimson Dragon with his one fearce pawes,
Shall teare his porpor bowells gainst the Lawes,
Of whosome nature plague and famine then,
Shall fill the barren earth, with shrowdes of men,
After the Dragon, whose smooth scales are white;
Hither the Almon Daughter shall in vite,
And crowne themselves: against whom shall rise,
An Eagle from the Rock, and both surprise.

FINIS.

Be Wise as Serpents, Innocent as Doves.

THE SCOTISH DOVE,

Sent out, and Returning;

Bringing Intelligence from the Armies, and makes some Relations of other observable Passages of both Kingdoms, for Information and Instruction.

From Friday the 8. of March, to Fryday the 15. 1643.

YOu may remember, the last week our *Dove* told you of a Letter from *Oxford*, and an Answer propounded at a Conference of both Houses, to be speedily sent by Letter to the King, which Answer was on *Saturday* fully finished and agreed on by both Houses of Parliament, and the Commissioners of *Scotland*, and is now sent to *Oxford*, wherein (to give you so much Intelligence as may

inform your judgements,) they desire his Majesty to return to his Parliament, and there with them to treat and advise of the great affaires and peace of his Kingdomes, but they refuse to treat with the pretended Members at *Oxford* who have, and do levie warre against the Parliament, which is establish by a Law which his Majesty hath sworn to maintain, as they have sworn to their allegiance to his Majesty; that they in duty must, and are resolved to defend and preserve this Parliament with their lives and fortunes; and do assure his Majesty that his Royall concurrence with them will be the most effectuall means to settle a firm and lasting peace in all his Majesties Dominions, but also his Majesties three Kingdomes are in danger by the continuance of this unnaturall war; and that his Majesty could not be the least, nor the last sufferer, &c. This is the summe of the Answer, and more then I would as this time have divulged, had it not been published by Order from the Parliament now extant: For though it be convenient that all his Majesties Subjects should (for the information of their judgements) know the sense of truthes; yet I conceive it is more necessary and profitable for us, who are private men, to seek God by our prayers for his Majesty, and for his Parliament (that God would continually inable them by his Spirit, to counsell his Majesty, and that his Majesty would hearken to their counsels, that they may joyntly together establish Truth and Peace in the Kingdomes) then to pry curiously into the secrets of counsell, except when the Parliament think fit to publish it: for as tyranny and oppression in Princes, begets contempts in Subjects; So for private men to publish secrets and counsels of Princes, may be prejudiciall, and exasperate their wrath against their Subjects: the first we are sensible of, as misery intolerable and insupportable; the later we may conceive may be an obstruction to the remedy.

As I am sure the King is misled, so I am sure *it is every Subjects duty to pry for him*, that he may return, and to indeavour to the uttermost *to take away the Wicked from before him, and so his Throne shall be established in righteousnesse.*

Great men (especially Kings) impatiently bear of their own faults from private subjects; nor is it fit that private men should publish them to the world, it belongs to Parliaments, the highest and supreme Court of Justice, who are Judges between Kings and their people, to rest in the illegality of the one, and compell the obedience of the other, who, as the Reverend Arthodox, Mr. *John Calvin* saith, (speaking of Parliaments) *If they shall wink at Kings wilfull treading down the Commonalty, it is in them a wicked breach of faith, because they*

they deceitfully betray the liberty of the people, whereof they know themselves to be appointed Protectors by the Ordinance of God.

Parliaments are the onely ſupport of the Subjects Liberty; the chiefe bounds of Lawes and Religion, the check to unlimited Prerogative: and hence it is that Parliaments have beene and at this day are, ſo much enveyed againſt, by a generation of lawleſſe libertines, who have beene long undermining them, and by ſecret plots and evill councells, have ſought to blow them up: the preventing and croſſing thoſe Councells have been the occaſion of our bleeding miſeries, which notwithſtanding is our chiefeſt happineſſe; conſidering that divine Providence hath eſtabliſhed ſuch a Parliament by Law, and juſtice, enabling us to ſtand in our owne juſt defence as *Mordica*, and his people againſt *Hammon*, and the Heathen *Perſians*, or *Nehemiah* againſt the *Samaritan* Idolaters; what God did for them, he hath in part done for us already, and will perfect his owne work for the deliverance of his people: God is not changeable, *he will not faile nor forſake his people*: he doth not afflict willingly nor will his anger remaine for ever, though for a ſpace he have hid his face, *and our ſins have hindred good things from us*, yet our repentance and reformation (as we have covenanted) will procure a bleſſing at the laſt: as all the world ſhall confeſſe (with admiration) that God hath done it for us, great things God hath already done for us: no day but produceth ſome admirable worke of Gods Providence in our deliverance; and our enemies loſſe, as if God did woo us by his mercies, holding out deliverance in his hand unto us, if we would but come to him, and ſeeke it of him: ſhewing us that he ſcourgeth us for our good, not to hurt us, much leſſe to deſtroy his people.

If we will but conſider the dealings of God, and trace him in his ſootſteppes of Providence, ſince the beginning of our bloody warrs; we ſhall clearly ſee mercy in all, from the firſt day of diſcoveries till this day: how did God blaſt the ſecret plots of the enemie? how did God foole the wiſe in their own councells? how did he awe the rage of the blood-thirſty, in the intended *Parliament Maſacres* and their high conceited Kingdom-ſpoyling-projects: when we were loweſt he ſubdued our enemies; and when they ſaid in their hearts God cannot help, then God began to defeate them, and ever ſince they have beene troubled, like the *Ægyptians*, and were they not more wicked, they would acknowledge (as they did) that God fighteth againſt them, for us.

The Scotch Army is on this ſide *Tyne*, as our Dove related laſt

weeke; we have now infallible assurance that they came over the first of *March*, the number that then passed over was 14000. *Newcastles* Forces who made good the passage against them, were faced with about 8. or 10000. of the Scots, whilst these 14000. winged about, and came over, 10. or 12. miles higher, upon the River, at 3. or 4. places, but that was not the way backe to *Scotland*, as *Aulicus* falsly informed his neighbours in the West, that they were all marcht back, and in this last weeke of *Oxford* lyes; he sayes *that Generall Liesley, is contented to retreat upon condition they may enjoy the Articles agreed upon at the last patification*; *Aulicus* is as good in peecing of a lye, as his friends at *Oxford* are at breaking of Articles, and Covenants: But *Aulicus* the innocent Dove dares vindicate the Harmelesse Scots against thee (*Oxford* Serpent) or *Romes* red Dragon: thou sting'st with thy tongue, and biteſt them by the heel, but shortly they'le breake thy head; and honourably advance thee to a triangular dignity in a string above the earth, but beneath the heavens; thou shalt have possion in the ayre, that thou mayst no more trouble the earth, by filling it with lyes; such as to say, *there are 6000. Irish landed in the North of Scotland*: a meere delusion to draw the West-Country-men into their cursed Anti-covenant: they must first make a bridge to run back, before thy'le use a Barke to crosse the sea into *Scotland*.

From *Lecester* we are certainly informed, that the strength of the Horse was gone out of that County toward *Newarke*, Col. *Hastings* (the noble thief) came with his strength from *Ashby* and plundred the countrey of horse, bease, and other goods, about *Liter worth*, *Hinckley*, *Dunton*, *&c.* But the Garrison from *Leicester* with such Horse as they could for Dragoones, made out after him, and with lesse then halfe his strength, beate them home, rescued all the plunder, and released many prisoners; and tooke severall of *Hastings* men, which they brought to *Leicester*: *Colonell Norton* hath taken severall prisoners, and slaine divers of the enemy, amongst which Sir *John Stowell* was slaine in the place.

Sir *John Meldrum* (together with the honourable associates) now before *Newarke*, have done brave service against the Towne; for on Mundy we had assurance, that they had taken *Muskam* Bridge, and entred the Out-workes, so as they shot *Granado's* into the Towne, we have since received assurance for confirmation of it, and that they have taken divers prisoners, slaine many of the enemie which sallied out, drave the rest into the Towne, and slaine divers in the Town: they have cut off all meanes of relieſe from comming

ning to the Town, and doubt not but by Gods mercy to be maſters of *Newarke* within few dayes, thus we ſee Gods mercies renewed to us every day: but of theſe things I ſpeak briefly becauſe I conceive they are by others related in their time, before my turne come: yet briefly I name them becauſe ſome may read our Doves relation, who read not many other; and therefore I muſt for their ſakes give a touch of Gods goodneſſe to us in each particular ſucceſſe.

We have had a report of the beſieging of *Wem* by *Prince Rupert*, and of *Colloneſl Mittons* ſallying out, ſlaying, and taking divers priſoners of the enemy; and putting *Prince Rupert* to his beſt ſpeed who being purſued hard, was forſt to ſwim the River, but this is variouſly reported and I could never finde any good author for the intelligence; for my part I doubt the truth of it, let other men beleeve what they will.

There is alſo ſeverall relations Printed which tells of things done by Sir *William Belfore* ſince his going Weſtward; I wiſh I could warrant thoſe relations for truth; but ſome mens affections run ſwift and their pens go before action; I for my part doubt not but what is not already done by Sir *William Belfore*, will be with advantage effected in good time. Baſe *Greenvil* hath prejudiced Sir *William Belfores* deſigne.

Sir *William Waller* and Sir *William Belfore*, are both going upon one deſigne, Sir *William Waller* is haſtening to joyne with Sir *William Belfore* with all expedition, his Ammunition 18. loads went out of *London* on Sunday laſt.

We have Intelligence by Letters from ſeverall hands, that Colloneſl *Lambert* from *Bradford* marcht out and ſurpriſed 11. Troopes of the Earle of *Newcaſtles* Horſe, at *Howley* houſe, which is a houſe of the Lord *Sawels* neere *Leeds*, how many Horſe was in theſe 11. Troopes is not certified, but they were all taken except two onely which eſcaped: We are alſo certified from thoſe parts, that in the Eaſt riding of *Yorkeſhire*, Sir *William Conſtable* and Captaine *Carter* have with very ſmall loſſe tooke two Bridges very conſiderable, called *Cheſter Bridge* and *Stamford Bridge*; they tooke ſeverall priſoners and three peeces of Ordnance.

The Earle of *Carlile* is come from *Oxford* and is at S. *Albones*, I can affirme with confidence he was there on *Wedneſday*, why he is come in ſo much haſte, and left ſo many behinde him, I know not: nor why his Lordſhip made no more haſte, to come ſooner I can give no reaſon, he is welcome now, they that are honeſt I hope will not ſtay long after him: the more the merrier if all be right, elſe better there then here.

We

We have intelligence that Sir *William Constable* is about *Scarborough*, and there is probability he will take it, and that treacherous turncoat Collonell *Cholmely*, it is beleeved there is very good pillage in the Castle, for *Cholmely* hath beene a filching water-rat as he hath been a land robber: he hath lately done much spoyle in the County; and hath fired some houses in *Whitbie*, besides other cruelties done to some of the townesmen.

It is certified by severall letters from *Hull*, that severall of the great Commanders of the Earle of *Newcastles* Army are sick and keep in: but whether it be in body, or minde I know not: feare is as bad as a Tertian Ague, now raigning in the Northern Armies under the Earle of *Newcastle*. At *York* they are in continuall frights enough to scare them out of their wits, if they had not lost them before, when they tooke Armes against the Parliament: great divisions and debates have beene in the City about the turning out all the honest partee: and at last it was concluded, and divers are put out to shift as they can, but their goods and estates are kept Imprison'd in the Town.

Wee are certified that a partee of *Collonel Waits* Horse from *Burley* House in *Rutland* went out towards *Beaver* Castle, Intelligence being given them of a Troope of Horse quartered a mile off the Castle: they with the best preparation they could make of sadle Horses and other for Dragoons (the most of their Horse being out in the Service against *Newarke*) fell on them in their quarters, and tooke divers of them, and then went neerer the Castle, where were Bease and Sheepe, for provision for the Castle, they tooke 19. Fat Oxen, and neer 200. fat sheepe, and brought them all away.

There is severall letters that confirme the former relation concerning the Scots, that they are in *Sunderland*, *Durham*, *Lumbley*, *&c.* and have possession of great store of Coales, and that some small ship are already laden and sent away, 8 or 9. daies ago: so that we have good hopes coales will come apace to *London* and to these South, and South East parts, and money will go as fast to the Scots Army, which will be as wellcome thither as coales to *London*, and adde courage to Souldiers.

On *Wednesday* there was license given by the Parliament, for ships to goe to *Sunderland* and *Blythe*, *&c.* to fetch Coals, and the Ordinance, which long since passed from both Houses, to prohibite al Coalships to go to *Newcastle*, is relinquished; thus through Gods blessing we shall by little and little, come to injoy our Rights, and see all things in their former stations with advantage and benefit to all that love God and the Kingdome.

We

We heare that there was six *Scotch* ships sent from *Scotland* to the Army with provision, in case the Army should be straitned; and we hear that two of them are lost by the way, by what accident, whether wind or rocks, I cannot say, but now the Army is in a rich countrey, where there is no feare of want, although the countrey (as all where those Locusts and Caterpillers have coasted) is much impoverished. *Newcastle* is now straitned for provision, and no relief can come in to them; so that wee may with confidence hope the town will shortly be delivered or taken by force; let us wait Gods time, and we shall finde that will prove the best time, he that believes makes no more hast, and he that so waits shall be happy.

Whereas it hath been with much confidence reported by some, Colonel *Cromwel* was before *Banbury*, and hath taken the town, and likely to take the Castle, it was a mistake, for he is not there, nor was he there, what he may be shortly, I cannot tell. It were a good work to unkennel those vermin: Col. *Crumwel* is at *Buckingham*, he hath 2000. horse and Dragooners, and 1000. foot, that brave and gallant Gentleman will not be long out of action.

We have Intelligence that Col. *Hastings*, the valiant one ey'd-robcartier, hath taken divers packs of cloth, and the Carriers horses about *Litchfield* side, as they were coming from *Manchester*; he is a noble pack-rifler, Chronicles will blaze his baseneſſe to Posterity, but his valour is yet unknown, and cannot be recorded: hee was the first in actuall rebellion, yet he loves one eye well, and therefore faces about when he sees danger; he's resolv'd to be kill'd in the back, or live till the Cariers bring in their inditements against him at *Leicester* Assize, and so die like his fellowes; a man seldom goes to the Gollows without company.

From *Plimmouth* we have had no late relation, only that they are in good condition: it is certain that the enemy are drawing their strength toward Sir *William Waller*, Prince *Maurice* (if such a man be) or his ghost or shadow, or a second of the name, or I know not who, is drawing down some thousands of men, who are about *Sarisbury*, and the Counties adjacent; they have used extreme severity in compelling men to serve, and many run away from them daily. And true it is, they have shewed savage cruelty in *Devonshire* and *Somersetshire*, in compelling their hellish *Anticovenant*, by cutting, killing, plundring, and imprisoning all that refuse.

For the *State Ambassadors*, of whom we have spoken in our former Intelligence, I can say nothing more; they are *States*, and *Ambassadors*, and they may declare their Ambassage and meaning when they

they pleaſe, and when I know it (if it be fit to be publiſhed) I will relate it to the world.

The *Arch-Biſhop, Arch*—— came to his triall on *Tueſday*, as laſt week we told he was ordred, his whole charge was read, his anſwer made, and his counſell heard, and that was all of that day: *Wedneſday* he was examined in particular upon the three firſt Articles, and witneſſes produced to prove the particular charge, and that held the ſecond day, ſo it is conceived three Articles a day will be as much as they can diſpatch, and there are 20. Articles; the beginning of the next week may end that buſineſſe and the Biſhop together, yet hee pleads well for himſelf, and told the Lords he was a good Proteſtant, and ſo was all his kindred; and that he had converted 22. ſeverall Perſons from Papacie, but it troubled his Lordſhips memory to name them all, yet he remembred the Dutcheſſe of *Buckingham* and Mr. *Chillingworth*, &c. good converts, ſurely if he had ever done a better deed he would have told it.

Some report that the Ammunition is gone (or the moſt part of it) to *Gloceſter*, and arrived ſafe; but give me leave to aſſure you the contrary, for I have been by letters (dated *March* 11.) informed from thence that it is not gone, nor was the number either of horſe or foot come in which is appointed for the convoy: It is true, there are about 2000. horſe bilited in the town and countrey adjacent to *Warwick*, and have been theſe ten dayes. Col. *Bear* is at *Stratford* upon Avon within 6. miles off *Warwick*: Prince *Rupert*, and all the ſtrength he can make lie in the way, to intercept their paſſage: and I am from thoſe parts credibly informed, the enemy are able to oppoſe with a partee of 6000. The buſineſſe is weighty, and our State-counſell are wiſe, the effect ſhew it in daily events; for things have of late been acted and then talked on, whereas before they were talked on, and never acted at all: for we had no deſigne in hand, but the enemy knew it, and prevented it before wee attempted it; Bleſſe God, and honour the Parliament for giving ſuch a counſell, and appointing ſuch Counſellours; And let no man diſpute, whether it be neceſſery to have an oath of ſecreſie paſſe, conſidering the failings of men our former loſſe by it, and our preſent good, firm and ſecret carriage of ſuch deſignes. Severall deſignes they have now in agitation, let us pray they may ſucceed well, and rejoyce when it is accompliſhed.

Sir *William Belfore* hath given an Alarme to *Winchſter*, and *Hopton* hath called in all his garriſons: their rendezvous is *Titchburne downe*; Sir *William Waller* is advancing to joyn with Sir *W. Belfort*, and there will be a battell. God give a good ſucceſſe.

Printed according to Order for L. C.

25
K pp
Lond

The true Informer:

Continuing a collection of the most speciall and observable Passages which have been informed from severall parts of his Majesties

From Saturday March 4. to Saturday March 18. 1643.

I. *A Vote of the House of Commons on Friday last concerning Propositions for Peace to be drawn up by the Commissioners of both Kingdomes, and presented to the Parliament.*

II. *A Proclamation of the Commons of Wales declaring Sir* Richard Greenvile *Traitor, Rogue, Villain and Scelum, and the occasion of setting up two Gibbets, one at the Royall Exchange, and the other at Westminster.*

III. *A relation of the landing of three ships with Irish Rebels, their wives and children, at Upton in Somersetshire, and their cruelties to the Inhabitants.*

IV. *A relation of the successe of Colonel* Wads *Forces against the Cavaliers of Bolvour Castle, where they slew a Quartermaster, and severall others, took a Cornet and 20. more prisoners, with horse and armes, 19. fat Oxen, and 100. sheep of the enemies.*

V. *A list of such Lords, Knights and Gentlemen as have deserted the Cavaliers since the Declaration of both Kingdomes.*

VI. *The names of the seven Foot Regiments for his Excellencies Army approved of by the Parliament*, viz. 1. His Excellency. 2. L. Roberts. 3. Col. Holborne. 4. Col. Berkley. 5. Colonell Cunningham. 6. Col. Firrell. 7. Col. Martin.

VII. *A relation of Sir* William Balfoures *facing of Winchester, and of his intention to joyne with Sir* William Waller, *and so to march for the West.*

London, printed for *T. Bates*, and *I. W. I.* 1643.

The true Informer:

CONTINUING

A Collection of the moſt ſpeciall and obſervable Paſſages which have beene informed this Week *from ſeverall Parts of His Majeſties Dominions.*

IN regard one of the maine deſignes now in agitation is the relief of the Weſtern parts, for which purpoſe thoſe valiant, faithfull, and experienced Commanders, Sir *William Waller* and Sir *William Balfoure*, are to joyn their Forces together, I ſhall in the firſt place impart ſome paſſages concerning the extreame miſeries and calamities of thoſe parts, in the Weſt, as they were informed by ſeverall credible perſons, who came lately thence, and confirm the former information we gave you about a fortnight ſince, concerning the drawing of moſt of the Iriſh Forces out of that City, to the aſſiſtance of the Lord *Hopton*, upon whoſe departure there were three other Sailes of ſhips full of Iriſh, both men, women and children, deſigned to come into that City, and were arrived at Crock-pill, whereof the inhabitants hearing, being moved with the unſufferable miſeries they ſuſtained, by entertaining the Iriſh before, began to mutinie, and declared, that they would rather venture their lives and fire their ſhips, then admit them into the City, whereupon Alderman *Hooke* (a luke-warm Neuter) now Major of that City, called a Councell together of about 60. of the chief men of that City, who alſo reſolved, not to admit them, but ſent word unto the Governour of the Caſtle; *That unleſſe ſome courſe were taken to ſend thoſe Iriſh away, the Trained Bands of that City* (which are now moſt of them armed, in regard there are few other Forces left for the defence thereof)

rise in an uproare, which might be a meanes (in regard of the pressures of the common people) of the revolting of that City from His Majesty. Upon the receipt of which Message, the Governour took order, that the said ships of Irish should not come in, but appointed them to land at Upton in Somersetshire neere Bridgewater, which they did. These savage Irish being landed, with their wives and children, turned many of the Countrey people out of their houses, tooke possession both of them and their goods, and cut the throats of divers families within three miles of Bristoll, which hath forced many others, fearing the like usage, to desert their habitations, to leave all, and file into other places for succour.

Exeter and Salisbury.

The Citizens and Inhabitants of Exeter and Salisbury are now also in much distresse by reason of the compulsatorie contes used to inforce many of their Inhabitants to take the Covenant agreed upon by some desperate Malignants and Cavaliers in the Counties of Devonshire and Cornewall, so that many of them, well loyal to our Families, have deserted their houses, and are come to London, who certainly informe; That at Salisbury, a manie of the French Cavalier quartered in that Towne, do daily commit manie insolencies upon the Inhabitants when they are in their Cups, which is usually everie daie, and sometimes in their drunken fits, in the middle of the night they have cut holes in their hats, wherein they have set Candles, and so have run daunting and roaring about the Town, and which I tremble to mention, (and should not have believed, much lesse in parted, had I not received it from those who were both eye and eare witnesse thereof,) in some of their intoxicating humours. *They have dranke Healths to the Divell, and to their meeting in fire and Brimstone*: Committing many horrid and unheard of actions. All which actions of theirs do give occasion to expect the sudden deliverance of these parts from their cruelties, in regard the sins of these Amonites are arrived to that height of impiety, and to such a maturitie of iniquity, so that the Lord having sufficiently chastised his people, by the hands of these wicked miscreants, will, we hope, shortly cast his Rod into the fire, and suddenly overthrow all those obstinate Enemies to his Truth and People.

Burley-house.

For the affaires of the Northerne parts, namelie, the comming of the Scots over the River Tyne, near Fexam: On March 3. last possessing

sing themselves of Durham, Sunderland, Hartlepoole, Lumley, and Lambson, whereby they have opportunity of sending provisions of Coales and Salt to London, for which 100. Sayle of Ships are ordered to be sent thither. Of the taking 11. Troops of the Marquesse of Newcastles Horse, neare Houley-Hall, a house of the Lord *Sapills* in Yorkshire, by Colonell *Lambert*, and of the taking of Stamford-Bridge, by Sir *William Constable* and Captaine *Carter*, with foure Pieces of Ordnance, and 14. Barrells of Gun-powder, they have been already particularlie related, as also the severall passages at the seige of Newark, and the great probabilitie of the taking thereof by this time, in regard that Mustrum Bridge and other chief Outworks are taken, and that Sir *Iohn Meldrum* intended to storme it on Tuesday last: I shall therefore wave the former (being unwilling to trouble you with repetitions) and acquaint you with a Relation of a very considerable exploit atchieved by a party of Colonell *Waytes* Horse, belonging to the Parliaments Garrison at Burley-House, in the Countie of Rutland, which is informed by severall Letters thence, to be performed after this manner.

On Sunday Night last, being the tenth of March, a small Partie of Colonell *Waytes* Horse and Dragoones, (most of the rest being at the seige before Newarke) having Intelligence of a Troop of Belvoir Castle Horse, that quartered at Knipton, within half a mile of the Castle, drew forth from that House, and fell upon the Enemie: Slew a Quarter-Master, and some other, took a Cornet, and 20. more Horse and Armes, and then went to the Castle, gave them an Alarum, brought away 19. fat Oxen, and 200. fat Sheep of theirs, to Burley.

Westminster.

The Declaration of both Kingdomes for the coming in of the Oxford party by the first of March, hath had a great influence upon many of the most ingenuous, moderate, and discreetest of them, divers of whom (whose names have been already published) are come in to the Parliament since the setting forth of the said Declaration, and have taken the solemne League and Covenant: the most considerable of whom I shall now mention together, in regard the time limited is past, are these:

Earls

Earle of Westmerland
Earle of Monmouth
Earle of Thanet
Sir Francis Seymour, one of the Gent. of his Majesties Bed-Chamber.
L. Paget, who came to *Warwick-Castle*.
Earle of Carlile, came to *S. Albans* Wednesday last
Sir Anthony Ashley-Cooper, *Baronet*, high Shetiffe of Dorsetshire, and Governour of Weymouth, came Feb. 29
Sir Edward Deering.
Sir John Evelin of Hampshire.
Sir John Evelin of Surrey.
Sir William Allen.
M. Roger Pitt.
M. Adasin.
M. Carpenter.

With many others, most of them men of eminency and estates, are lately come to London, and have taken the Covenant, besides those who have submitted themselves to the Parliaments Garisons at Northampton, Warwick, and other places, too numerous to be here particularized. We have also certain intelligence of divers others of the Cavaliers Partie, who are verie desirous (might they have an opportunity to escape) to have the benefit of that Declaration, but that such a strict course is taken in all the Kings Quarters to retain them: howsoever, if they be carefull to take the first opportunitie and occasion offered, it is not doubted but that they will finde the Parliament readie to extend their favour unto them.

Petworth.

From Petworth we are this week certainly advertised, that Sir *William Belfore* hath lately (besides his former services already related) taken sixe Waggons laden with Beef, Mault, and Bacon, and other necessaries, going to Basing-House, and hath given an Alarum to Winchester, wherupon the Lord *Hopton* hath called in all his Garrisons from the Westerne parts, intending to meet them, and that their generall Rendevoute is at Tichborne-downe. That the 18. Cartloads of Ammunition which went from London on the last Lords day, March 10. is come unto Arundell, so that he intends speedilie to advance thence, and the White and Yellow Regiments of the Trained Bands with the Southwarke Regiment, are to advance from Petworth, Saturday, March 16. so that, we doubt not, but you will shortly heare of much service performed by those two worthy and valiant Commanders, and their Forces.

London

London and Westminster.

On Friday last, March 23. According to an Order of the Counsell of Warre, There were two Gibbets erected or set up, the one over against the Royall Exchange, and the other in the Palace Yard at Westminster, whereat Proclamation was made by the Provost-Marshall and Trumpeters of his Excellencies Army, declaring Sir *Richard Greenvile* (that Grand Apostate and Renegado of England) a Traitor unto the Kingdome, which Proclamation was fixed upon both the said Gibbets in writing, in the words following.

W*Hereas* Richard Greenvile *hath of late presented his service unto the Parliament, and hath beene entertained by the Parliament as Colonell of a Regiment of Horse: And whereas the said* Greenvile, *contrary to his promise, ingagement, and honour of a souldier, hath basely, unworthily, and faithlessly deserted the said service, and feloniously carried away the money paid unto him in regard of the said service. These are to proclaim the said* Richard Greenvile, Traitor, Rogue, Villaine, and Scellam, *not onely uncapable of military imployment, but of all acquaintance and conversation with men of honesty and honour. And this Proclamation in the meane time to be nailed on the Gallowes, whilest it shall please God to deliver the said* Greenvile *into the hands of Iustice, that he himselfe may supply the room of this Proclamation.*

Done this 15. of March, 1643.

Plymouth.

Plymouth, we are advertised, is in a safe and secure condition, and that many Gentlemen of quality and estate are come in another, have submitted themselves to the Parliament, and subscribed the Covenant, and that divers of the Countrimen who were forced to take up armes in those parts, and others who were prosecuted for not taking the Cavaliers Anti-Covenant, are also come into the said town, resolving to venture their lives in the defence of the Parliament.

Westminster.

Yesterday March 9. at a Conference of both Houses of Parliament in the painted Chamber, the House of Commons imparted a Vote of that House, desiring their Lordships concurrence and assent thereunto. The Vote was to this effect.

That it might be referred to the Councell of State of both Kingdoms, to consider of, and propound to both Houses of Parliament, the most probable, speedy, and effectuall meanes for procuring and establishing a firm peace in all His Majesties Dominions.

Upon which Vote, we doubt not but within these few daies, (when it shall seeme expedient to be published) you will heare further of the concurrence and proceedings of both Houses, howsoever in the interim, this may serve to confute and silence, all those malicious, scandalous, and fictitious reports and calumnies, raised and fomented by *Mercurius Aulicus*, and other Malignants and Cavaliers, against the Parliament, and particularly against the House of Commons, that they are no waies desirous, but rather opposite to Peace, whereas it is apparent by this, and other their real and hearty indeavours for the publike good from the beginning of this Parliament, unto this time, that they desire nothing so much as the procurement of such an happie Peace, as may tend to the advancement of the true Reformed Protestant Religion, His Majesties Honour, the Liberty of the Subject, Priviledges of Parliament, in defence of which they have been alwaies ready to sacrifice their lives and fortunes.

The House of Commons have agreed upon the 7. Foot Colonells, for the Earle of *Essex* his Armie, whereof his Excellencie is first Major Generall, secondly, the Lord *Roberts*, the third Colonell *Holborne*, the fourth, Colonell *Barkley*, the fifth, Colonell *Cuningham*, the sixth, and the Lord Generall hath the casting voice, whether Colonell *Tirrell* or Colonell *Martin* shall be the seventh. By which the affection of his Excellencie to the Common-wealth is more eminent, in that he rather desires the welfare thereof, then the advancement of his own honour, yet this addes a luster and resplendency to his esteem and renowne in the opinion of all true Patriots.

Kent,

The Inhabitants of the Countie of Kent are now growne sensible of the miseries and calamities which those Counties who are under the power of the Cavaliers doe sustaine, and the security and plenty of those places who have not at all been under their Tyranny, and (like true borne English men, and free Subjects) are raising some thousands of men for the defence of it, and take care to cloath those, who are not able to doe it themselves, furnishing them with Red Coats and other necessaries. The Voluntiers came in apace from all parts and particularly from the Towne of Croyden, (the Arch-Bishops quondam place of residence:) It had been well for other Counties, had they bin as cautious to provide for their owne safety, when it lay in their power.

There are severall Officers appointed by Ordinance of Parliament for to attend his Majesties Children at St. *James's*, those that were corrupt and unfit, being displaced, and other admitted into their rooms, the former Prelatical Priests are removed, and these Reverend Preachers are designed to preach before them, *viz.* *Master Stephen Marshal*, *Master Ieremiah Whitaker*, *Master Caryl*, *Master Obadiah Sedgwick*, and *Master William Spurstowe*.

The Ammunition sent towards Glocester on Tuesday sennight last, is now returned back to Warwick, in regard there are so great a number of the Cavaliers to intercept it, the losse of Sir *Thomas Fairfax*, in his late Skirmish with Prince *Ruperts* Forces, near Drayton, is not so great as the Malignants report it, he having not lost above 30. men, and we have information, that there were as many slaine on the Enemies side.

We heare the Earle of *Carlile* is this day returned to London, from Saint Albans.

Published according to Order.

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MERCVRIVS AVLICVS,

Communicating the Intelligence and affaires of the Court, to the rest of the KINGDOME.

The ninth Weeke, ending March 2. 1643.

SUNDAY. Feb. 25.

THe Rebels at last appeare in their owne likenesse, and are so farre from submission to His Majesty, that this late Rebellion was wholly against Monarchy. For which purpose they have now finished their last ambitious designe of locging all authority upon 25 Statesmen, (14 Commoners, 7 Lords, and 4 Scots,) whom they now declare shall be called THE COUNCELL OF STATE. These 25. Tyrants (like those 30 at *Athens*) have for present obtained to sit for three moneths, in which time they resolve to play their game so, as there shall be a necessity of sitting longer, till the people are possessed that they cannot live without them, and then they can easily wave the word COUNCELL, and call themselves STATES, as Sir *William Waller* told you in his plaine dealing Warrant of the 13 of *December* last. Now lest these *States* should be crossed in their contrivements, they got it Voted on Tuesday last, that every one of the 25 should take their Oath of *Secresy*, that they shall not any way reveale the designes and consultations of the *Councell*, without licence granted by the major part of the *Councell*. Nay, (which is worth

notice) most of those 25 have places in the Army, and may strike up a sudden businesse which the other Members thinke not of; who (since the erection of these 25) have onely the priviledge to become *Wool-packs*, or enjoy a walking place in *Westminster*-Hall.

And how these new Rulers will ensnare all others, you may see sufficiently by their *Holy League*, which at it's first production had a clause in it for observation and maintenance of the last *Pacification* between the two Kingdomes: and according to that Edition it was first sworne to by most of their Upper and Lower *Members* the 4 day of *September* last, wherein they sware, *That all and every of them according to their place and interest would sincerely observe the Articles of the late Treaty of peace between the two Nations, and would by all meanes endeavour that Justice be done without partiality upon the opposers of them, that this blessed peace might be perpetuall to posterity.* Which Article is now left out, (for they must needs dispatch the League to gratifie their Brethren) and this clause would have feared the Country people from venturing on this *League*, to see men so palpably perjure themselves, the one by inviting, and the other by comming to invade this Kingdome, having so expresly sworn to the contrary.

MONDAY. *Feb.* 26.

This Oath and League being of such publique use (like a Gypsies knot that is fast or loose at your pleasure) must serve the *Independent*, as well as *Presbyterian*: to both which (as 'tis now chastned) it equally relates. And therefore on Wednesday last, there grew so kindly a heat in the *Assembly*, betweene Master *Nye*, and Master *Henderson* (maine ficklers for the two wild factions) that the fiery *Moderator* could not possibly reduce them to any calmenesse: Master *Nye* urging eagerly (yea and with *Syllogisme* too, whereto he is a great pretender) against the Scottish Discipline, as not agreeable to the Word of God; and Master *Henderson* (having as much *Logick* as *honesty*) pressing hard to have Master *Nye* turned out of the

Assembly,

Assembly, which is Mr. *Hendersons* usuall way of consultation. Nay, this *Holy League* is such equivocall worke, that upon some scruple urged against it by one of the *Lords* which is now turn'd out of the *House* (for out of the *Councell of State* is all one) urging for himselfe, that he hoped every man might take the Oath in his owne sense, so as it might stand with Oathes formerly taken: *O*, (said the late Lord *Say*) *God forbid else, but every man should take it in his owne sense*; for indeed the old man who hath out-lived his *Lordship*, hath a *strict* conscience for *Independency*.

THURSDAY. *Feb.* 27.

The newes of this day was of another skirmish in *Dorsetshire*, betwixt his Majesties Forces and the Rebels; where peeping out of their nest at *Wareham*, were stopt by part of the Lord *Inchiquins* Regiment at *Holme* Bridge, three miles from *Wareham*; where it was sharply disputed above foure houres, till Captaine *Purdon* and his Lieutenant (two most gallant and incomparable Officers) were both shot by the Rebels, so as their men began to give backe. But here I must acquaint you with a piece of most gallant and matchlesse courage in this Captain *Purdy*, & his Lieutenant, who though they had but 25 foot souldiers, and 20 horse (not a man more) yet did they fight almost 5 houres at this Bridge with above 300 Rebels horse & foot; and withstood all their Carbines and Musket shot, till 10 of the Captaines 25 foot were sore wounded, himselfe and Lieutenant dangerously shot, so as they both fell downe, yet would by no meanes be carried off, but caused his men to lay him and his Lieutenant at the brinke of the Bridge, and commanded them not to leave the place, or him, while he lived, and (if he bled to death as he lay) not to leave his body till some other friends might come in to their reliefe, which the men performed most stoutly, the brave Captaine himselfe (as he lay) charging and discharging his Pistoll three or foure times against the Rebels at five yards distance, by which unexpressible valour the Rebels were still kept off, though they pressed hard for the Captaine, till at last the Rebels (spying some Irish Forces from the Isle of *Purbeck*) ran their way to *Wareham*, leaving 40. Rebels dead behinde them, whom the Captain had

the pleasure to be stript; and not onely got their fine new Saddles, Carbines, and Clothes (sent lately from *London*) but tooke also eight Cart-loads of Hay and other provisions, which these Rebels had robbed from the Country people. The Captaine had 12 men wounded, but not a man killed, save the valiant *Lieutenant*, who bled to death as he lay on the ground, though all the while he encouraged the Souldiers with more chearefull expressions then you can easily imagine in a dying man. The Captaine we doubt not will recover againe, who with a good cause and 45 men, is able to beat 300 Rebels, especially if they be led by perfidious *Syddenham*, who in this action commanded in chiefe, but (as 'tis since confidently affirmed) is now dead of his wounds, being shot into the belly, either by this Captaine, or one of his brave company.

WEDNESDAY. *Feb.* 28.

The onely newes of this day was of 3 or 400 of the Rebels horse and dragoons from *Aluebury*, that came before *Hilsdon* House yesterday, (being the day of *Buckingham* faire) whither they hoped some of the Garrisons might be straggled, being but 2 miles off. They came on about 9 in the Morning, and left not till one in the afternoone, all which time they were stoutly answered by the Garrison Souldiers (though they were but few) and at last beaten off and pursued above 3 miles; some Rebels were killed, and 10 or 12 desperately wounded, the Commander in chiefe is reported to be one (not any hurt done to the House or any of the Garrison) which hath so incensed the Rebels, that they resolve to come with an exceeding great strength against the house, before the works be finished, or men begotten sufficient to man the works.

THURSDAY. *Feb.* 29.

This day we were informed of the contribution levied by the County of *Worcester*, the particulars whereof you shall have next weeke.

FRIDAY. *March* 1.

The Rebels (for three weeks together) have spread a vaine slander, *that divers of the Nobility have deserted His Majesty*; which we purposely passed by, till wee had an Answer under their Lordships owne hands, which this day was publisht, in

their

their Lordships Letter to the *Lords of the Privie Counsell, and Conservators of the peace of the Kingdome of Scotland*, a true Copy whereof we here afford the Reader.

Our very good Lords.

IF for no other Reason, yet that posterity may know *We have done our duties, and not sate still while our brethren of* Scotland *were transported with a dangerous and fatall mis-understanding, that the resolution now taken amongst them for an expedition into* England, *is agreeable to their obligation by the late Treaty, and to the wishes and desires of this Kingdome, expressed by the two Houses of Parliament; We have thought it necessary to let your Lordships know, That if We had dissented from that Act, it never could have beene made a Law; And when you have examined, and considered the names of us who subscribe this Letter (who, We hope, are too well knowne to your Lordships, and to both Kingdomes, to be suspected to want Affection to Religion, or to the Lawes and Liberties of our Country, for the Defence and maintenance of which we shall always hold our Lives a cheape sacrifice:) And when you are informed, That the Earle of* Arundell *and* Thanet, *and the Lord* Stafford, Stanhope, Coventry, Goring *and* Craven, *are in the parts beyond the Seas, and the Earle of* Chesterfield, Westmorland, *and the Lord* Montague *of* Boughton, *under restraint at* London, *for their Loyalty and Duty to His Majesty and the Kingdome; your Lordships will easily conclude, how very few now make up the Peeres at* Westminster, *there being in Truth, not above five and twenty Lords present or privy to those Counsells, or being absent, consenting or concurring with them: Whereas the House of Peeres consist of above one hundred, besides Minors and Recusant Lords, neither of which keepe us company in this Addresse to your Lordships. How we and the Major part of the House of Commons come to be absent from thence, is so notorious to all the World, that we beleeve your Lordships cannot be strangers to it: How severall times during our sitting there, Multitudes of the meanest sort of people, with weapons not agreeing with their Condition or custome, in a manner very contrary and destructive*

structive to the Priviledge of Parliament, filld up the way betweene both Houses, offering injuries both by words and Actions too, and laying violent hands upon severall Members, and crying out many houres together against the established Lawes, in a most tumultuous and menacing way: How no remedy would be submitted to for preventing those Tumults: After which, and other unlawfull, and Unparliamentary Actions, many things rejected, and setled upon solemne debate in the House of Peeres, were againe after many Threats and Menaces resumed, altered and determined, contrary to the Custome and Lawes of Parliaments, and so many of us withdrew our selves from thence, where We could not Sit, Speake, and Vote, with honour, freedome and safety, and are now kept from thence for our duty and Loyalty to our Soveraigne. And we must therefore protest against any Invitation, which hath beene made to our Brethren of Scotland, *to enter this Kingdome with an Army, the same being as much against the desires, as against the duty of the Lords and Commons of* England. *And we doe conjure your Lordships, by our common Allegiance, and Subjection under one gracious Soveraigne, by the Amity and Affection betweene the two Nations, by the Treaty of Pacification, which by any such Act is absolutely dissolved, and by all Obligations both Divine and Humane, which can preserve Peace upon earth, to use your utmost endeavours to prevent the effusion of so much Christian blood, and the confusion and desolation which must follow the unjust Invasion of this Kingdome, which we (and we are confident all true* English *men) must interpret as a Designe of Conquest, and to impose new Lawes upon us. And therefore your Lordships may be assured we shall not so farre forget our owne interests, and the Honour of our Nation, as not to expose our Lives and Fortunes in the just and necessary defence of the Kingdome: But if your Lordships in truth have any doubts or apprehensions, that there now is, or hereafter may be, a purpose to infringe your Lawes or Liberties, from any Attempts of this Kingdome: We do ingage our Honours to your Lordships, to be our selves most religious observers of the Act of Pacification, and if the breach and violation doe not first begin within that*

Kingdome,

Kingdome, We are most confident you shall never have cause to complaine of this. And having thus farre expressed our selves to your Lordships, we hope to receive such an Answer from you, as may be a meanes to preserve a Right understanding betweene the two Nations, and lay an obligation upon us to continue.

YOur LORDSHIPS

most affectionate humble Servants,

Ed. Littleton C. S. *L.* Cottington. *D.* Richmond. *M.* Hertford. *M.* Newcastle. *E.* Huntington. *E.* Bathon. *E.* Southampton. *E.* Dorset. *E.* Northampton. *E.* Devonshire. *E.* Bristoll. *E.* Berkshire. *E.* Cleveland, *E.* Malburgh. *E.* Rivers. *E.* Lindsey. *E.* Dover. *E.* Peterborough. *E.* Kingston. *E.* Newport. *E.* Portland. *E.* Charbery. *V.* Conway. *V.* Faucombridge. *V.* Wilmot. *V.* Savile. *L.* Mowbray & Maltravers. *L.* Darcy & Conier. *L.* Wentworth. *L.* Cromwell. *L.* Rich. *L.* Paget. *L.* Digby. *L.* Howard *of* Charleton. *L.* Deincourt. *L.* Lovelace. *L.* Paulet. *L.* Mohun. *L.* Dunsmore. *L.* Seymour. *L.* Herbert. *L.* Cobham. *L.* Capell. *L.* Percy. *L.* Leigh. *L.* Hatton. *L.* Hopton. *L.* Jermyn. *L.* Loughborough. *L.* Byron. *L.* Whithrington.

SATURDAY. *March* 2.

If this Letter be not sufficient (as all that have braines or honesty will grant it is) to convince the Reader of the equity of His Majesties cause; they may please to take notice that Sir *Richard Greenvil* came this day into His Majesties Quarters at *Reading*, and hath laid downe his Commission at His Majesties feet; he did not Petition the *Members* at *Westminster* to be a Deane, a Secretary, or a Sheriffe, and upon a denyall wheele off to the adversary; But in the midst of the Rebels offers, to give him more then he would aske, (having already made him Lieutenant Generall to Sir *William Waller*) he shooke off them and their cause, and came to His Majestie, bringing his Troop along with him.

But

But the chiefe newes of the week was of our deare Brethren the *Scots*; concerning whom it was signified yesterday (from the Governour of *Belvoyr* Castle who had received Letters out of the North) that the Lord Marquesse of *Newcastle* had given the Rebels another Remembrance; but the particulars were not certified further then this, That upon that defeat *Lesley* sent to parley with his *Excellency*, & is contented to retreat upon condition that the Articles agreed at the last Pacification may stand inviolable (til this perfidious Rebel is able again to breake them) & that none of the Forces raised by His Majesty either Forraign or English, shal invade the Kingdome of *Scotland*. Which *Alexander Lesley* is the more willing to imbrace, because he findes his Brother *Fairfax* is lesse then his word, and young Sir *Henry Vane* a pure Committeeman; which *Lesley* speakes plainely in his Letter to *Fairfax*; wherein he sufficiently chargeth him with breach of promise; concluding earnestly, that if *Fairfax* did not speedily advance to him with his Horse, they must of necessity retreat towards *Scotland*. And this morning it was further confirmed by Letters from *Loughborough*, wherein was concluded a Letter from Sir *Marmaduke Langdale* to his Excellency the Lord Marquesse of *Newcastle*, written from *Corbridge* 10 mils from *Newcastle* up the River of *Tyne*, neare which towne Sir *Marmaduke* himselfe having drawne out his Brigade, the Rebels drew forth into the field above 2000 Horse to face Sir *Marmaduke*, while their foot crept up the river towards *Cumberland* (as some conceive) to make themselves capable of *Fairfax* his Horse, if he knew how to get thither; or rather to amuse His Majesties Forces, while theirs retreated towards *Morpeth*, as since appeares. Sir *Marmaduke* (a name anciently given to none but such as are of Sir *Marmadukes* spirit) got betwixt the Rebels Horse & Foot, then charged the Horse, & did it so like his former actions, that after some conflict he totally routed them, killed above two hundred in the place, (other Letters say 700, & others mention a farre greater number, whereof more next weeke) & followed the execution full foure miles, tooke above seven score prisoners, particularly the Lord

Lord *Kilcumbrights*, Serjeant Major *Agnew*, *Archy Mack*, Master *Murray*, Coronet *Carre* Grand-child to the Lord *Rexborough*: with diverse other Officers, whose Scottish names the Expresse doth not mention. Many of their best Commanders were slaine (for those Horse were the flower of their Cavalry) and *Lesley's* Son who commanded in chiefe (being the Lieutenant Generall of their Horse) was himselfe shot through the shoulder, but having an *English* horse under him he escaped away. There were fifteene Troopes of Horse, whereof *Lesley's* owne Life-guard was one, and eight Companies of Dragoones; The Lord Marquesse tooke thirteen Colours, Eight Colours of Horse, and 5 of Dragoones, besides what Colonell *Dudley* tooke at *Prudoe* 9 miles from *Newcastle*, whence he brought 53 prisoners, having slaine many more. Sir *Marmaduke* lost onely one Officer and 6 Common Souldiers, who were slaine at the first Charge, but not a man of his fell in the pursuite. The worke was so generally well performed, that the Rebels retreated to *Morpeth*, and (which is more) to *Felton* and *Alnewick*, the one 17, the other 25 miles from the Towne of *Newcastle*.

And to set these Rebels a packing in earnest, it is certified in the same Expresse, that two thousand stout Volunteers are come out of *Cumberland* to joyne with the Lord Marquesse of *Newcastle* for more quicke expedition; which yet is further heightned by newes which was brought to *Newcastle*, that Six Thousand out of *Ireland* are landed in the North of *Scotland*, but not out of the North of *Ireland*, and therefore you may guesse their errand: This we are certaine of that Two thousand resolute *Irish* landed at *White-Haven* in *Cumberland* on Monday was seavenight *Feb.* 19 who (next to their Allegiance to His Sacred Majestie, and a desire to serve under this most noble and valiant Generall) are come to *Newcastle* to quit some old scores with the *Scots*. So that these Foure Thousand of *Cumberland* men and *Irish* (who come on purpose to meet the Brethren) will cause their false Generall to hang up more then 23 *Blew-caps* for running away from him, if he execute all that grow weary of Rebellion.

The Scots having received part of their reward in this seasonable blow, 'twill concerne them at *London* to lancie better Newes; which best appeares by their weekly Servants, whereof one very wittily tells us, 1. *That the Marquesse of* Newcastle *is a Prisoner in* Newcastle, *and the Towne it selfe is a Prisoner to the Scots,* (Truly a Towne is a pretty Prisoner) 2. Another sayes, *That the* Scots *have gained a Sconce, and taken the maine Out-worke belonging to the Towne,* (*Taken the maine Out-worke?* what, was it running away from its fellow Prisoners?) 3. *That Prince* RUPERT *continues with his Forces and stirs not from* Worcester *and* Tewkesbury, (*Worcester* and *Tewkesbury* are both the same Parish) 4. *That the Marquesse of* Newcastle *caused as much of the Towne to be burned downe, as was sufficient for a thousand Families to live in* (was it since his imprisonement, or before?) 5. *That he propounded to have the Coale-pits fired, but was prevented by the Boats and Lighters,* (when he made that Proposition these *Boats* & *Lighters* made Speeches against it.) 6. *That there are two broken unarmed Regiments of* Irish *Rebels landed at* Beumaris *for Prince* RUPERT. 7. And another sayes, *Prince* RUPERT *hath sent those Two Thousand* Irish *Foote, which landed last week in* Wales, (Two thousand are but Two broken Regiments.) 8. *That as these two Regiments of* Irish *were comming to joyne with Prince Rupert, Colonell* Mitton *fell upon them, routed them, and tooke above Six-score Horse and Armes,* (Sixescore horse taken out of two Regiments of foot.) 9. That a partee of Horse from *Northampton* on Saturday last fell upon a Quarter of Cavaliers near *Banbury*, and tooke forty Prisoners of Sir *William Farmers* Troop. (It is a gallant Troop, every man in it is reckoned Ten.) 10. And another sayes, *Northampton* Forces went towards *Banbury*, and tooke Sir *William Farmer* with halfe of his Troop, (wee'll allow you to write 40 for 4 but you must not reckon a Knight for one.) 11. That divers Gentlemen are come to London, and have embraced the Declaration (I told you it would be a lye, your first of March is past:) 12. *That the Towne of* Nottingham *had like to have beene betrayed by men disguized like women there being above Twenty*

of

of them with long knives, (last weeke they were short swords are they no longer then *knives* yet?) 13. *That the Lord* Inchequins *Regiment make most cruell spoile in* Dorcet shire, *and on munday pillaged the Lady* Drakes *house*, (this house you said was burnt downe a moneth since, and is it so soone up to be pillaged?) 14. *That the* Close *at* Litchfield *hath done as much hurt to the Parliament as the Church it selfe*. ('Tis an handsome Anniversary for your deare Lord *Brooke*; 'twas this day Twelve-moneth.) 15. *That the Parliament may make at least two hundred thousand pounds of the Coale at* Newcastle, *if they were not hindred by the enemies of the Common wealth*. (then 'tis a pretty rich prison.) 16. *That Colonell* Massey *is safe at* Chipping-Norton, *maugre all the Malignants of the County of* Gloucester. And another sayes (17) *That Colonell* Massey *hath Ammunition enough at* Chipping Norton, *but 'tis impossible for him to come thither, unlesse they come to him*: (I never hope to see you two reconciled.) Then a New-beginner who calls himselfe the MILITARIE SCRIBE, sayes, *With our favourable acceptation hee will constantly prosecute his Martial inceptions*. (I take it to be Sir *Iohn Wray*.) 19. Next he saies, *That a* Dutch *Ship tooke an* English *Ship neare* Zealand, *going into* Flanders, *and found in her many Chests stuffed with the Marquesse of* Newcastles *plate and money*. (a fortnight since the *Scots* tooke this Ship, last weeke the Earle of *Warwicke* tooke it, and now a *Dutch-man* hath it, alter it as you please, 'twill still be a *Lye*.) 20. *That 'tis probable ere long the Marquesse of* Newcastle *will follow his Ship*, (then certainly the *Scots* have the Ship) 21. *That an hundred of the chiefest Inhabitants of* Warwicke *had a late plot to have betrayed that Towne and Castle to Prince* RUPERT, *but their person. are all secured*. (in all your discoveries the rich men are still the Delinquents.) 22. *That when some moderate men at* Oxford *made a motion for Peace, the* Spanish *faction cryed out, hang, hang, Peace*, (this *Scribe's* name is *Peace*, hee will come on prettily next weeke.) Then they all say (23) *That one Brigade of the* Scots *are come over* Tyne *and were seene to march over* Lumley *Bridge, five miles on this side* Newcastle, *since which time they are*

are come to Durham, *and have surprized* Durham, *both Town and Castle*, (and *Yorke*, and *Newarke*, and *Worcester*, and *Ongord*, and all this since they came over *Tyne*.) 24. *That part of the* Derby *forces fell on the Lord* Loughborough *at* Farmark, *and have slaine three Commanders, and above* 40. *others, taken* 350. *common Souldiers*, 10. *Captains*, 200. *Horse and* 250. *Armes*, (this is a complicated *Lye*, and would have served for 3 or 4 weekes.) 25. *That* York *is so surrounded by the Parliaments Forces on all sides, that they will hardly let the Marquesse of* Newcastle *slip from them*, (you said even now he was prisoner in *Newcastle*, have you removed him so quickly to your prison at *Yorke*?) 26. *That the Parliaments Forces in* Poole *and* Wareham *have lately routed the Lord* Inchquins *Regiment of* Irish *in* Dorcetshire, (That is, Captaine *Purdon* made those Rebells run, when he and his Lieutenant were not able to stand.) 27. *That seven thousand more are come out of* Scotland, *and joyned with the Army, which before these come, was well nigh Thirty Thousand*, (When the Noble Marquesse hath beaten these *Blew-caps*, you'le say they were but *Seaven and Thirty Thousand*) 28. *That Master* Henderson *and Master* Nye *had a fayre and brotherly debate in the Assembly about Church Government*, (A very faire debate, but they gave very foule language.) 29. *That these two worthy Divines laboured both for the same thing, onely they differed somewhat in a few circumstances*, (the same thing, the one for *Geneva*, the other for *Amsterdam*) 30. *That all men that have taken the Covenant doe immediately after find in themselves a great deale of freedome from scruples and doubts*, (particularly Mr. *Brampton* of *Burton* in *Northamptonshire*, who therefore last week drowned himselfe in a Well.) 31. *That there are two Thousand for King and Parliament comming out of* Lancashire *over* Blackstone-Edge *into the North*, (No, those *Two Thousand* came by water and landed at *White-Haven*.) 32. *That the Malignants of the West would have forced Master* Peard *to goe Prisoner to* Oxford, *though he was so sick that 'twas death to him to remove, as all that looke upon him might easily perceive*; And yet 'twas not death to ruine away, though I confesse his *looke* was somewhat strange.

FINIS.

Numb. 27.

Mercurius Britanicus

Communicating the affaires of great

BRITAINE:

For the better Information of the People.

From *Monday* the 11. of *March*, to *Monday* the 18. of *March* 1644. 1643.

THis piece of Paper from *Oxford* is past all *Duty* and *Allegiance* to his Majestie, for while the King sends Letters of Complement to his *Parliament* at *Westminster*, and calls them his *Lords and Commons*, this *Aulicus* calls them *Rebels* and *Traitours*, this foule sheet, this ridiculous Pamphlet, this bold and insolent piece of *Digby*, and piece of *Jermaine*, and piece of *Berkinhead*, and piece of the *Dutchesse of Buckingham*, and the Lady *Anbigny*, for they are turned *Lady Intelligencers* of late, and writes their share, so that it is a Pamphlet of *both Sexes*, it is an Hermaphrodite of News: but Sirrah, *Aulicus*, and you *Jermaine*, and you, *Madam Anbigny*, why are you not more observant of his Majesties stile? why write you not *Lords and Commons*? why write you *Rebels and Traitours*? But fie upon these women, these *Court females*, for they are at no more obedience then the *Queene* of England: but I heare since, there is another *Plot* in the businesse, his Majestie intends to write in faire language to *London*, and because such a stile may loose them an Acre of ground, and is a kinde of a *Renontation*, *Aulicus*, and his generation are charged to keep up the *defamation*, and scandall, and reproach, and when his Majestie writes *Lords and Commons*, he is to write, *Rebels and Traitours*, this is an *Oxford-stratagem*; but for Rebels, I shall now turne the scandall upon your selves, for I have hitherto let the wilde fire die of it selfe and neglected, but now I shall justly charge it upon you, and desire all the weekly assistance from others, to brand them with the just title, of *Rebels of Oxford*.

No Allegiance, no duty in Aulicus.

Lady Intelligencers.

A new plot.

An Oxford stratagem.

Rebells of Oxford.

Aulicus tels us, now we are full against *Monarchie*, we have chosen *twenty five Members* English and Scots, and they are the *Councell of State*, and this he calls against Monarchie; but Reader, the piece of Paper understands not Monarchie, no more then some of the *Kings Chaplaines* understands *Greek* or *Hebrew*, for they are as little read in the *Originall*, as in

Twenty five Members.

the *Translation*, never reading the Scripture, but when they would get a Text for *Episcopacie* and *Pluralities*; but *Aulicus* understands not Monarchie, they at *Oxford* thinke that his meere Majestie, with three or foure evill Councellers about him, makes up the Monarchie of great *Britaine*, did you ever read of a Monarchie in *Aristotle*, or *Lypsius*, or *Bodin*, *Tacitus*, that consisted of King *Charles*, and *Ned Hyde*, and *Duppa*, and *Digby*, and *Davis*, and *Dicke Grimes*, and *Nicholas*: This is Monarchy at *Oxford*, they thinke that Monarchie is no more but just his Majestie, and the *Barber*, and the *Cup-bearer*, and the *Carver*, and a *Court-Chaplaine*, and this is *Monarchy*; but you see how this *Councell of State* sticks in their teeth, how they bite at it, now they raile at twenty five; before onely seventeen stood in the way, now they are puzled worse, and faine would they perswade the States of this Kingdom, that all their power is now amongst twenty five, this is the *standing stratagem* at *Oxford*; before they writ against our whole Parliament, now they bend their pens against 25. this is the *staple designe*, the weekly Plot, till they see we take no notice of them, but pursues our designes, and then the pen will give over, oh we might do them a mighty favour to take exceptions at this 25. any that are for *Oxford* in the Parliament, any that hath a vote for the Queens service, any that hath a chamber pot standing in Graies Inne-lane for the Prerogative may cast in an argument against the 25. and its twenty to five, but you shall have them in print the next weeke, any one do them the curtesie at *Oxford* to finde fault with the twenty five, any Member in the house of Commons or house of Lords help them now at a dead lift, for this twenty five wil undo them, now that the Parliament congeales into private Counsells, they are within a mile and a halfe of their utter ruine, will no body help against this twenty five? Is there never an Officer of *Richard Grenviles* left behinde? You see (*Aulicus* and you of *Oxford*) here is no hopes, the designe against twenty five will not take, you must put on some clean linen, you have worne this conceit three weekes, give it to the Laundresse you know on, and let her wash and bleach it.

Oxford Monarchy

A standing stratagem.

He now cries out against our *Oath of secrecy*, that is another way of undoing them, alas, they shall now know nothing, before they had little windores, and wickets, and key holes, and they could see into a debate at the close Committee, but now they are undone, there is an oath locks up the Counsels, there is not so much as a syllable of *Intelligence* that will twinckle, I am perswaded they will go see if they can get the honest men in the *Arras*, or St. *George* in the hangings to send them word: but I hear they are projecting how to allow the Door-keeper a Pension for revealing all ecchoes, and syllables, and sounds, and then some *Oxford* Scholars must find out a Negromanticall way of interpretation, they say there is an old

Oath of secrecy.

old Receipt of *Agrippa's*, and Fryar *Bacons* in *Bodlyes* Library at this present; and if that will not do, they intend to study a way of evading and walking out at the backside of the Oath; and this they will communicate with some of the great Councell hereafter; and therefore I think it fit to give that honourable Counsell notice beforehand.

He tels us of an *Article* left out in our *Covenant*, that of preserving a *blessed peace* betwixt the two Nations of *England* and *Scotland*, and let all the world judge of this impudent Pamphlet, that dares lye in the face of our *Covenant*, while our *Solemne League* lookes on, and walks abroad in the kingdome, but you shall see the vanity of his conceit; he cals our *Brethrens Advance* into this kingdome an *invasion*, a breach of the treaty, when as it is the only testimony of our firme union, and a witnesse of the *inviolation*, that our Brethren joyne with us in the same Covenant, in the same prosecutions and extirpations, against a company of *Rebels* that are knotted and bedded in the *North*, and at *Yorke*, and *Newcastle*, and *Oxford*, and *Newarke*, and *Bristoll*; and can there be a better way of preserving the *peace* of the two kingdomes then by *joyning* against Papists and seducers of our *King*, and the common enemies of *Religion*? and can this advance of our Brethren be an *Invasion* which is an invitation, and one of the conditions of the Articles of the Treaty, wherein they are mutually obliged with this Kingdome, and called on by the Parliament to assist them? Oh, our Brethrens comming makes such a noise at *Oxford*, and rings so in the Schooles where the *Junto* sit, they all cry out of an *Invasion*, a breach of Treaty, a breach of any thing; the truth is, they are distracted, the noise in *Denmarke* and *France* pleases them not, there is no help for them, *Denmarke* cannot spare so much as any *Priming powder*, and this makes the Right Honourables of that University, these *Rebels of Oxford*, write non-sense in their late Epistle to the Lords of *Scotland*, wherein they have vomited their mindes in a sheet of Paper.

Article left out.

The best way of preserving the peace of the two Kingdoms

He tels us now of a late *heat* in our *Assembly*, betwixt the *Independants* and *Presbyterials*, and how our Moderator could not calme them. Reader, you see they can tell us of our *heats in Religion*, but we heare of no such *zeale* at *Oxford*, they are cold enough in Religion there; did you but see how the *souls* of their Prelates and Bishops are congealed and frozen they stand all over with an Ice, they have not so many *sparks of grace* as will thaw them and the Letany from together. *Aulicus* cryes out of our heats, but oh the *coldnesse* of the Protestants at *Oxford*, oh the *chilnesse* of their consciences; there is as much Snow upon the spirits of their Clergie, as upon any Mountain in Wales the last February. But he tels us of M. *Nye* and Mr. *Hinderson's Disputes*; we grant it, is it not better to be warming one another in *holy Controversies*, and to walk on so fast in the way of Reformation till we gather a kindly heat, as he cals it, then to sit still as you do at *Oxford* in your old *Copes* and *Surplices* freezing to the *Common*

Heat in the Assembly.

Disputes

Prayer Book and Popery, is it not better to be moving on in wayes of *Reformation*, then to go back and reele like your Drunken Bishops and Clergy, that were staggering and falling back into *Altars*, and *Priests* and *crucifixes*, and *Idolatries*.

But Mr. *Nye*, he sayes, and Mr. *Hinderson* were very violent, and Master *Nye* said that the Presbyteriall Government was not according to the word of God; this is as true as they are good Protestants at *Oxford*; Master *Nye* hath a *Narrative* in print to confute this calumnie, wherein he joynes with Master *Henderson* in an exhortation to the *Covenant*, and acknowledges the light from Scotland, and other reformed Churches, a pure light in its degree, and lets not a word fall there to the dishonour of the Government, onely in the Assembly, in discovering the grounds of their Positions, and arguing a little Politically, and nationally, he touched some sinews which were tender and sensible, and if here there was a little more then ordinary motion in the Assembly, it is no wonder, for such wheeles cannot be stirred, but men of *sublimed soules* will move at those motions; yet you see there is no such doings at *Oxford*, they never trouble themselves about God or the Gospel, so they can be quiet, and drink Muscadine and Egges, and heare Anthemes, and Organ-pipes, and make Congies to the East, and worship the Sun, and heare Homilies, and Mattens, and the Common-Prayer-Book, you shall never heare of any disputation from *Oxford*, of any quarrelling for a Reformation, they are agreed of their Religion ever since *Queen Maries days*, they agree about heaven well enough, and of their way thither, they fall out only about earth, and about sharing estates, and inheritances, and Offices at Court, and places in the Army; and for Religion, they are resolved to follow the Ghosts of their great Grandfathers, which way so ever they go.

Oxford devotion and zeale

Syllogismes.

He tells us Master *Nye* disputed in *syllogismes*, you see then independants are for set formes, and order, though you accused them the last quarter, for want of that you now accuse them for having; Oh the contradictions of *Oxford*! But you never trade in the honest and plaine way of *syllogismes*, but all in fallacies, and in *Dicto secundum quid*, and if you make a syllogisme, it is usually in *Cæsar*, or the Prerogative, Scholers know what I meane, if others do not.

Master Hinderſons way of confutation.

He tells us of Master *Hinderſons* way of *confutation*, which he sayes is turning out of the house; Oh, you are too narrow, it is turning out of the Kingdome, and out of the Church, and so he hath *confuted* all your *Archbishops*, and *Bishops*, &c. he hath held forth such a *light*, as they have melted before it, and the *whole Prelacie* is thawed into nothing: Do you not remember how he confuted your *Aberdene Cassocks*, and Lawne-sleeves, and how they came packing away a full Canterbury upon their little Galloway Arguments into this Kingdome? hath not providence and heaven set their hands to Master *Hinderſons* confutations? were all your Bishops able to stand before the gravity, and Logick, and Divinity of Master *Hinderſon*? But you think to perſwade us into an inconsistencie, and incompossibility, as if the Independancie, and Presbyteriall, could not suffer each others neighbourhood: you are mistaken, I hope our Presbytery shall never be accused of such negative perſecution of the godly, as if two brethren of two judgements could not live in the same house with the leave of the Master of the family, this is a Principle of *Machiavile*, not Scripture, which you would insinuate into our Presbytery: such extirpations is for Popery and Prelacie, not for Independencie.

Lord Say.

He tells us of my Lord *Say*, and of the Covenant, that is equivocall worke, and would faine fasten a new scandall on that noble Lord: My Lord, you have had scandall enough from *Oxford* to make you honourable in our thoughts at *London*; yet his Lordship hath one comfort more, he suffers in good company, he hath no worse then the Covenant; for the truth is, they that have jeered & blaſphemed Scripture so long, may well make bold with my Lord and the Covenant; and they cannot be idle, if they be not blaſpheming, they will be scandalizing a little for exercise.

A skirmish.

He tells us of a *Skirmish* by the Garrison from *Wareham*, with part of the Lord Ro-

chfords

chiquin's Regiment, now this is true, there is part of *Inchiquins* Regiment, even an hundred of it left, some five and twenty with their Popery and all, you see how it hath thriven, from 500. to twenty five, a pretty encrease on the back side of *Arithmetick*, but will you hear the story the Pamphlet tells, it is a whole leafe, but as it was fought he faies at a Bridge, so I shall abridge the story.

Captain *Purdon* and his Lieutenant with their 25. foot and 20. horse fought with 300. of ours, this is probable, but what say you to this that follows, the Captain and Lieutenant dangerously wounded, and not able to stand, and yet the Captaine led up his Company (he sayes) very valiantly as he lay, and discharged his Pistoll, is not this ridiculous, and believe it, this is the right sense of the story; he tells us of much hay they got at this encounter, now you would little think what they do with this hay, for there is a report they use their Infantry most barbarously, and feede them like horses with hay and provender, and while the Commanders are at their bottells of wine, their poor souldiers are at their bottells of hay, it seems by this they have eaten up all the provisions where they come, and now relieves their Regiments with hay and straw, I wonder the souldiers stay with them, but they set up (as some say) a pair of gallowes to every Company, just the very course they take with the *Iunto* at *Oxford*, and that keeps the creatures together.

He tells us of a *famous successe* they had at *Hilsdon* house upon divers of our forces from *Alesbury*; hold *Aulicus*, thou art a weeke too late in thy story, *Hilsdon* house is taken, Sir *Alexander Denton* and Colonell *Smith* are prisoners with us, and the house is not onely assaulted, but Garrisoned, from *Alesbury* too, you may take measure by the truth of this story of all the rest that are to come, for there is one or two monstrous things out of the North, and for resolving of that I beseech you good Reader carry this little lie of *Hilsdon* house in your memory till we come there, at his grand relation. The famous successe at Hilsdon house.

He tells us of a *Contribution* setled by the County of *Worcester* for the Kings forces, but I pray remember too what they usually call contributions, when they bring in a great plunder, then they print presently this was a *Contribution*, if you did but see the warrants that hath gone about in that County of *Worcester*, writ in *Rupert's* old strain (they say) of threatning, plundring, and ravishing, and firing, and yet they have the impudence to call this *Contribution*. Contribution.

Now he tells us of a Letter from the Lords at *Oxford* to the Lords in Scotland and prints it, and I shall observe upon it; they begin thus, *if for no other reason, yet that posterity may know we have done our duties: what have ye done?* ye have misled our King, misCouncelled him, seduced him, countenanced Popery, armed Papists against Law and Religion, *this have ye done*, and *for your duties*, ye are the *shame of the Peerage of England*, ye run away from your Country, your Parliament, ye deserted your *duty* to God, and the Kingdom, and all for a few honest Apprentices that walked in *Westminster* with Canes in their hands, when the Parliament now sat out most desperate Plots against them, and the very tumult of the most *Periwig Cavaliers*, those Ruffians that were the very *Gentlemen* of the privy Chamber in those times, thus you have done your duty, like Apostating, Deserting, Revolting, Cowardly, dispirited, dis-nobled Lords. Oxford Lords Letter. The Lords at Oxford the shame of the Peerage of England.

And when you have examined and considered the names of us that subscribe this letter, ye are worth considering some of ye, and the more they examine and consider ye, the worse they will finde ye, there is *Littleton*, one subscriber, that was a Lord Keeper indeed, for he kept my Lady, &c. and Mistris &c. and such, and such, whom I thinke pitty to name, and now and then gave them a broad Seale, and thus passed away the Royall signiture in fornication & Adultery, and sealed as unlawfully of late, as he sinned, & committed with strange wax, witnesse the Progeny of Commissions, & Patents, and Monopolies, and this man subscribes himself, the rest I have formerly laid open. Perewig'd Cavaliers Littleton.

We hope we are too well known to your Lordships and both Kingdomes, to be suspected to want affection to religion, &c. Indeed you are too well known to be suspected for any affection to Religion, What religion is *Littleton* on, Lord Keeper of the Ladies and Gentle-

Cottington. Gentlewomen I named? What religion is *Cottington* on, the next subscriber? a Spanish Protestant. What religion is Newcastle on, another subscriber? of the Lady *Savile*, all the time he kept her good Lord in Newarke Castle. What religion is Bristoll on? of his brother *Cottingtons*. What religion is *Newport* on? of his Ladies that hath been at Roome kissing the Popes Toe, or his Tayle, I know not which. What religion is *Portland* on? another, &c. An Irish Protestant, and therefore made *President* of Munster, and poor *Inchequin* left in the Bogs. What religion is *Falcenbridge* on, another subscriber? a Northerne Protestant, his hair and religion went away together, and he is as bald in the one as the other. What religion is *Jermin*? Confessor to one of Great Britain. I could reckon ye more, but I am weary: only this, there are some Lords, it is pitty the Gallowes are so about them, they have some honour and sparks left, which would burn brighter if they were not choaked with the ashes at *Oxford*, viz. *Hertford*, *Richmond*, *Dorset*, *Barkshire*; these Lords, were they in their right firmament at Westminster, *I could hope well. How very few make up the Peeres* at Westminster, *there being in truth not above five and twenty Lords*: you see though they call them few, yet they adde, there being *in truth* five and twenty, these are all *in truth*, and have their being *in truth*; and what are those Lords in Oxford, against *the truth*? I am sure: we are all sorry there are so few Lords *in truth*, but five and twenty; and so the sum is this, there are twenty five Lords confessed by our Adversaries to be *in the truth*, and forty against it.

Falconbridge. Jermin. Peers at Westminster.

How in our sitting there, multitudes of the meanest sort of people with weapons, not agreeing with their condition or custome, in a manner very contrary and destructive to the priviledge of Parliament, filled up the way, &c. And is this your *Apology* for your running away. Oh base dishonourable! shall posterity read this cowardise, that a few meaner people, a few staves affrighted the Lords to *Oxford*, from Westminster, from your religion, your trust, your ingagements to *God* and the *Kingdome*: What, no spirit in your Arteries? no drop of English honour in your veines? Dare ye not sit out a Petition, a few poor Canes, a Bundle of staves? Why run ye not from Oxford for feare of the Gallowes? for *Brisioll* devised them to keep you tame and silent.

Multitudes of people.

And we do conjure your Lordships, &c. Reader, do you not remember a moneth since, how just in this phrase they were conjuring his Excellency in a Letter, *we conjure you*, those Lords have sat so long at the University of the Black Art, they have learned to *conjure*, they would now conjure the *Scots* from comming in.

Oxford Conjuring.

We do ingage our Honours to your Lordships, &c. What matter is there of your Lordships ingagement? you can performe nothing, get her Majesties ingagement, and *Iermyns* ingagement: alas, you speak of ingagements, when the kingdome knowes you cannot make good a syllable; you dare not speak a word grosse to the Queenes Closet. Your ingagement? I had rather have *Davis* the Barbers word, and *Dick Grimes* the Horsekeepers, then the ingagement of all your *Iunto*, of all your Lordships, with all your popery too.

We hope to receive such an answer as may preserve a right understanding, &c. This is it their Lordships want at *Oxford*, even a *Right understanding*, and I hope our Brethren will helpe them to it, there is no better way then by taking Newcastle, and advancing; and then it may be *a right understanding* may come again to their Lordships: But *Aulicus*, to shame their Lordships to all posterity, hath printed their names at large.

He tells us now of Sir *Richard Greenvile*, come to his Majestie, *Aulicus*, make much of him, we can spare him a while, and perhaps may have as good cause, if not a little better to speak as well of Sir *Richard*, as you.

The Northern story of Sir Marmaduke.

But now I arrive at the great Story from the North, which holds up the head of his Diurnall this weeke, and here, just as he told us of *Hilsdon*-house, he tells us of them, and of one Sir *Marmaduke Langdale*, a Commander of theirs, whom he most unjustly charges with I know not how much valour, how he led up his Brigade; now he is not content with laying this Gallantry to Sir *Marmadukes* charge, but he jeeres him

wofully

wofully too, and sayes this name Sir *Marmaduke* is given to none but Sir *Marmadukes* spirit: Oh ridiculous! Reader, I would you knew as well as I, what this Sir *Marmaduke* is, he talkes on, he is one that hates all Gunpowder, and never loved to come neere his Regiment when they were shooting off; this Sir *Marmaduke* hath discharged ofter in his breeches, then in his Pistoll, as three of his Captaines can witnesse, and his Lieutenant Colonell will take his oath on it; for one day, as he marched in the head of his Regiment, and his Regiment in the taile of him, the wind blowing diametrally upon him, conveyed the assises of his drawers full amongst his forces, and they had like to have mutined, as the Story goes: this Sir *Marmaduke* was ever called the Hypocrite, and Heathen, and Coward of the North, he hath the most base and degenerous spirit, this is he that was cudgelled by the last Lord Deputy for standing for his Countrey, & he durst never stand for it since; and now having painted you Sir *Marmaduke*, beleeve what you please from *Oxford* of this Story.

He tells us of some *Irish* landed at *whitehaven* in *Cumberland*, these you must know, if the story be true, which I much question, are *Rebells of Ireland*, that come over in *Red coats*, died in the blood of so many thousand Protestants, and for *Whitehaven*, where he saies they land, it will soon be made a black haven by landing such prodigious murderers, and Papists upon it. Irish landed.

For his story of the Scots I shall answer him in the Intelligence and sinke his story with a true Relation.

Intelligence.

THE Forces of the Lord *Gray* of *Groby* sent forth from *Leicester* as you heard, rescued two Ministers, and others of the Country, that *Hastings* with a party had taken, having tied them two and two together, though they were but newly before tied in *Leicester* by the Covenant, for they had been taking it there, and this deliverance was a good approbation from a divine providence; *Hastings* rallied party was routed again, and divers of his Officers slaine, and souldiers slaine, some that had not the gift of riding away were taken, amongst whom, as they say, Prince *Griffiths* Trumpeter with his silver Trumpet, which is now turned a well affected Trumpet again, and blowes very well for the Parliaments service. Lord Grayes forces.

The *Siege at Newarke* is now neerer and neerer, the enemy are beat from every out work, into more work, they are within Pistoll shot of the Towne, their numbers are about 7000, & all those about the Town, Sir *John Meldrum*, Colonell *Hubbard*, Colonell *King*, are Commanders in chiefe of the severall *Brigades* which besiege it, shortly I hope I shall be able to write how many prisoners are taken, what plunder they had, for there is the wealth of many Counties in it: Sir *Charles Lucas* from *Belvoir* attempted to relieve them, but was intreated by our forces to go back to his Castle again, and the man very honestly being well beaten, took his leave, left them to their worke, and Newarke. Siege at Newarke.

Colonell *Cromwell* hath uncattelled them about *Oxford*, and gave them such an Alarme, that he both drove away the Cattell and the Rebells into *Oxford* at the same time, I heare that one of Colonell *Cromwells* Trumpeters blew so hard he put old *Duppa* into a fit of the Collicke. Colonell Cromwell

Sir *Will. Balfore* is betwixt *Winchester* & *Romsey*, and the Rebells in *Oxford* are betwixt feare and dispaire. Sir William Balfore.

Rupert is about *Wem*, but Colonell *Cromwell* will call the young man home again. Rupert.

Our *brethren of Scotland* are now undoubtedly passed over *Tyne*, and are possessed of *Sunderland*, and *Marmaduke Langdale* is gone back, *Marmaduke* the leane heathen, and the Popish Army is retiring to *Darneton*, this is the *Marmaduke* who writes to *Oxford* of his own noble and valiant acts in the *North*, and sets his hand to it, though I can have ten to one offered that he was untrussing at the very time of the charge, by Brethren of Scotland.

those

those that know both *Langdale* and *Marmaduke*.

Many parties upon designes.

We have *many parties* abroad now upon *designes*, and *finer designes* then those of *Oxford* the last *July*, and now the great Counsell doth so trouble them, and distract them at *Oxford*, they cry out against nothing, but five and twenty, five and twenty, we shall be undone by his *Excellency*, and this five and twenty, and he upon this *Oath of secrecy*.

An excellent Answer.

The Estates of the Kingdoms hath sent an excellent answer to his Majesties, so full of ingenious, cleare, cordiall, loyall expressions, that they of *Oxford* are afraid his Majestie will disband, and come away to *London*.

Secretary Nicholas his lie.

Edward Nicholas writes to the Kings Agent at Venice, that two thousand Scots are slain, now if old *Ned* had put in one Cypher more, as he might as justly have done, and with far more advantage to the Kings affaires, it had been twenty thousand Scots slain, and that had made an end of the whole Army in one Epistle, believe it the Secretary is not so good a Subject as I thought him, that will not spare a cypher in such an extremity.

Canterbury.

Canterbury is now pleading for that life of his, that which hath kept the wrath of God upon this kingdom since the wars begun unto this day; the Deputy suffered for the violation of the Lawes of the Kingdom, but none suffered yet for the violation of the Law of God, not one Archbishop, Bishop, nor Idolatrous Doctor, surely God is angry indeed, that we suffer his Cause to be last revenged, nay unrevenged yet, and till this Archbishop, and *Wren* be cast out with Episcopacy, I never expect a compleat blessing.

Propositions for Peace in agitation by the Parliament.

The Parliament being very sensible of their *juggling at Oxford*, pretending peace (as in the last Message from his Majesty) but preparing for warre, have therefore with singular wisdome voted to send *propositions* for a happie and safe peace, and the Committee of both kingdoms are appointed to prepare *grounds* for these propositions, and to present them to the House; which finished, shall be sent to Oxford, and if denied, both kingdomes will joyn together, to prolecute the just obtaining of them; and in the interim it will be manifested to all the world, with what hypocrisie they at Oxford have expressed themselves from time to time, and the integrity of the Parliament and of both kingdomes will be the clearer manifested.

Captaine Swanley.

Captaine *Swanley* now at sea, and in service for the Parliament under the Lord *Admirall* Earle of *Warwick*, besides divers other very acceptable services, hath very lately performed a notable and memorable one; he hath taken three ships of his Majesties *Navy Royall*, one ship had 34 peeces of Ordnance, another 24, the third one of the Whelps of 14 peeces of Ordnance; thus you may see how God blesseth and prospereth the Parliaments forces both by land and sea.

The noble Earle of *Manchester* very justly resolves the Masters of Colledges that refuses the Covenant, and sends them up as prisoners to London, but the truth is, they are too fat and too fed up for a Covenant to go about them, and their bodies which are so full of Schoolemen & Commencement-Suppers, cannot endure the straitnesse of such a solemne league, and especially that Article of personall Reformation pinches them; but there is one *Ned. Rainbow*, Master of *Magdalen* Colledge, whose soule, like his name, is not all of a colour, is so full of lean Whimsies, he will slip thorow the most solemne Oath if he be not well lookt to; this is the *Rainbow*, that hath the Quibling and party-coloured Sermon in print, wherein he jested two hours at *Paul's* Crosse upon this Text; *Labour not, but labour.*

Doubt.

Whether is there any just plea for Arming of Papists?

Satisfaction.

No, it is not onely against a fundamentall Law of our Kingdom, but against his Majesties own Oathes, Protestations, Proclamations, and the onely cause of this war, and only Argument of Popery, which was our first difference.

Printed according to Order for *Robert White*.

28

Numb. 27.

Mercurius Britanicus:

9° Counterfeit Merc. Briton

K. P. Londr

Communicating the affaires of great

BRITAINE:

For the better Information of the People.

1643

From *Monday* the 12. of *March* to *Monday* the 18. of *March*, 1644.

THe Spring comes on, and the weather growes somewhat warmer, and yet *Aulicus* his wit is at a stand, hee dares not venture upon two sheets againe: for he findes it somewhat a cumbersome businesse to carry lyes about in double cloathing: all the stratagems of his, and his companions brains, will not amount to the other halfe sheet: The *Juntoes* are very dull, the streame of their affaires is not currant enough to swell up his matter beyond a single sheet: for the prodigall halfe, the remnant, the ragge of paper entoiled to the maine sheet, hath nothing of *Oxford*, (that is treason and villany) in it; onely he is pleased to make himselfe, and friends merry with our weekly Pamphlets, and *gloss* a plausible conclusion to many serious fictions: And you must conceive, that this is his recreation at the latter end of the week, after he hath tyred himselfe with inventions of State, and high and mighty *Fo Gods* concerning their victories, and prosperous proceedings in *Terra Incognita*, the unknowne world, where hee payes our Armies home with a competency of *lyes*, especially *our Brethren of Scotland*, as it much concernes him; for the Prelates and Schollars are very sick with conceit of the *Scottish* Name; and any thing against them is a Cordiall, the onely cure, and reviving of their drooping Spirits: Though the *North wind drive away raine*: yet contrary to this text of Scripture, the *Clergie* doe comment most falsely, and crie out foule weather, nothing comes thence but foule weather, stormes, and high windes to shake

Aulicus his penurie.

The Scots belyed.

The Clergies false Comens.

The Scholars malice against the Scots.

shake the Oakes of *Bashan*, the lofty Cedars of *Episcopacy*, and the Malignants shrubs which grow under them. This is the reson why the Schollars straine their brains and pens every week to the undervaluing of the Scots, and amplifie their Invention as to the other halfe sheet, with belying of them. But for the maine sheet it selfe, States-men (if I may call them so) have the managing of that, the whole building is of a *Politicall* Structure: it is a body of erayterous impressions, the matter whereof being first concocted by the *Cabinet-Councell*, is situated, ligamented, and formed, fit for the *Presse* by their *Undring* Deputies.

Berkenhead cashiered.

No roome for *Berken-head*, and his *Scholastick Comrades* in this parcell; They are fit onely to dabble in our *weekly Diurnalls*, and make *Ducks* and *Drakes* with their braines over Barly-broth: for *Aulicus* is of late become a meere stratagem, an absolute delight, a treasonous Comment upon the proceedings of the Parliament: from light flashes of wit, it is become a flame to set the Kingdome on fire) and the hearts of credulous, simple people *on fire of Hell*.

He begins with Sunday, *Febr.* 25. And as if it were the proper worke of the day, he takes liberty without the least remorse, to frame high and lofty slanders against the *Councell of State*, and calls it our *last ambitious designe of lodging all authority upon 25. States-men*. It is an honourable designe, *Aulicus*, which will last in spight of your malice, and all the poysonous suggestions wherewith thou infectest the people, and I hope will bring you to your last, and put an end to all your mischievous devices: It will spoyle your Prognosticks concerning what weather shall fall out this Spring, and save you the charges of keeping Pensioners here for *Intelligence*: for whilst our affaires are carryed with Secrecy, and acted in a cloud from the *common Sense* of the *Commonalty*, *Newes* will not have so free an influence to the eares of *Malignants*: But our gallant Commanders will by this meanes disclose themselves inevitably like thunder, and blast your conspiracies with more security and alacrity. This most excellent transaction of publike affaires in a more close and private way, by publike persons of honour ought, I hope, with reasonable men to be of farre greater esteeme than the proceedings at *Court*: where every up-start favourite keeps a Parliament within himselfe, and measures the publike concernments with his owne private interest: The poore *Irish*, the *New-nothing*, the *Mock-Parliament* there, may raise very faire propositions, rare mischievous determinations, and though in themselves now and then their counsells may be destructive enough to the Kingdome; yet if the hint

Oxford Prognosticks spoyled.

The mistery of the *Irish*.

suite not with the humours of this or that particular person, all is lost in a fogge by night in the *Privy Chamber*.

Hee calls our *Estates* Tyrants, and saies, *They are like those* &c. at *Athens*. This *Athens*, Reader, was an Universitie like *Oxford*; So that by *Aulicus* his confession, it is no new thing, that there should be Tyrants in an Universitie: *Aulicus* the sottish *Athenian*, might have spared his comparrison, and not thus put us in minde of Universitie tyrants. Here I could recken you up their *Presidents*, their *Principalls*, their *Provosts*, their *Rectors*, their *Wardens*, with the whole rabble of Tyranicall Governours, and Sub-governours, who being used to tyrannize over the gowned *Pupils* in the Colledges, without controule, become so flush in the exercise of jurisdiction there, that when they come once abroad into the world, and creep into Court-preferments, till at last they arive at the *Councell table*; Then they shew themselves to be of the true straine of Ambitious tyrany. Oh, how the little Sparke of *Canterbury* used to domineere and Lord it there, and in spight of opposition, be *Dominus fac totum*; This diminitive monster, This *Demogorgon* now in the Pound, this miter'd Basilisk, which used to kill the hearts of men with his lookes in the *Star-Chamber*; Hee took so many degrees in Tyranie at *Sain Johns Colledge* in *Oxford*, that he made more use of it than of Divinity ever after; And that he might the better propagate it in Court, hee was not only made *Primate and Metropolitan of all England*; but which is more, *Diocesan of White-hall*, and *Somersethouse*. To him I might adde, and set out other Universitie Tyrants, as *Duppa*; as arrant a Tyrant, as ever ruled in *Christ-Church*, or Christs Church; and another Bird of the same feather, called *Wren*, who was a speciall *Vulcan* for the forging of Popish implements: But I have done with these long-styled birds, and must give a touch of those short-tailed ones, which now rooste in *Oxford*, the viperous Silke-wormes I meane in short cloakes, those gawdie Caterpillars, which lie so thick about the Royall Branches, and have almost consumed all the tender buddings, and leeves of the Protestant religion which thrived in them: These are they which of late have expelled learning out of the Universitie, and suffer them to take no degrees in any Discipline but Military, to preach no Sermons, but such as are worse then those that were wont to be at *White-hall*, the Reverend Homilies before his Majestie in *hunt*; for the Universitie is wholly devoured by them: so that the first degree of their tyrany is over Schollars, but no matter, they will not see this, but are their very contented slaves, as all men which are flatterers, must

Universitie tyrants.

Canterbury, his tyranny.

Vulcan for the forging of popish implements.

of necessitie bee: And in that condition I leave them under the Government of the learned professours and forwarders of tyranny, their

Alma Mater Academia, The Dutchesse of *Buckingham*.
Chancellor, *Bristoll*.
Vicechancellor *Cottington*.
The Proctors, *Digby*. *Jermyn*.
The Doctors, *Endymion Porter*. *Noy*. *Davenant*. Jesuited *Windebank*. Father *Philips*. Her Majesties *Confessour*. and the rest, some prime *Junto* men.

Whose names I will not stand to reckon up because they are a greater number then those 30. at *Athens*, who I make no question, may meet with their match among these *English Academians*.

Gronians are Antimonarchists.

Aulicus tells us that *this latter Rebellion runnes wholly against Monarchie*, hee of his mind; For, whatsoever is to set up the *Papacie*, is to pull downe *Monarchie*, and make the greatest *Monarch* a slave to the *Pope*. And to what end is this late *Irish* and *Oxford* rebellion, but to advance *Peters* keyes, as they call them, above the Crown? This makes the Popish partee drive on the War so furiously. He tells us, that *for the erection of this Counsell of State, the other Members have only the priviledge to become Wooll pack-men, or enjoy a Walkers place in Westminster hall.* This rascall-pamphleter would very faine scatter his fire-works here, to trie if he could meet with any combustible matter in the *Houses*, and if it were possible, to raise some distrustfulnesse toward the *Councell of State*: But they are too serious to be taken with toyes, squibs, and pop-guns from *Oxford*, and know well that it is the greatest advantage wherein the Adversary would triumph, if by any meanes they could foment dislikes and displeasures, and bandying here: And therefore, *Aulicus Digby*, leave off this trick, it is worne threadbare, and you make use of it in an ill time too; for those who, you say, *have the priviledge only to become wooll-pack-men*, are not willing to be plundered of their loyalty, their Religion and resolutions, by such shifting circumventions: They know well this is an *Oxford*, that is, an hellish plot to raise division: Thou wouldst first plunder them of their good opinion

A caution against *Aulicus*.

Histerent.

ons and reason; in hope that thou maist come to plunder the men of their wooll-packs, their estates and fortunes afterwards, and not only bereave them of the Priviledges of Parliament, but even of that priviledge of walking in *Westminster*: For shame leave off trifling in these sad times, for this weake Jeere of walking in *Westminster*-Hall, will never bring them to be walkers in *Oxford*.

He tells us that *the clause for the maintenance of the Pacification betwixt the two kingdomes of* England *and* Scotland, *was left out of the League and Covenant*. What more would he have for the maintenance of peace betwixt the two kingdomes, than is there expressed? When as both Nations vow and covenant to preserve the peace and welfare of each other in direct termes, and mutually to defend their Religion and Liberties. Such cavillings as this, *Aulicus*, are but like lightnings before death, and informe us sufficiently of your weaknesse. *Aulicus* his cavilling lightnings before death.

He tells us that *the Oath and League is like a Gypsies knot, fast and loose at pleasure*. This is plaine Canting, and I will have thee arraigned before my *Lord Chiefe Justice* for a Rogue. Dost thou tell us of Gypsies knots fast and loose at pleasure? I can tell thee of knots enough: your *Junto* is a knot of Apostates, a pack of doting wretches of the tribe of *Dauus*, disturbers of the Common wealth, and yet are awed by *Davises*, Barbers, and every *Swip-snap Jack* which can tell the King a faire tale in his eare, every *Cottington*, every *Dick Grime*, every *Jack Straw* newly rescued from the dunghill, can puzzle the *Junto* in private, and tie such knots with their tongues which they cannot untie with their teeth in publike, though they champ never so hard in the *Convocation-house* for a week after. I can tell thee of *Harry Iermyns* true loves knot in his bandstring, which I will not call a *Gypsies* knot, because I suppose it was made by *Ladies* at *fast and loose*, when their Zones, their Virgin knots were untyed to all manner of looseneſſe, and untrusſed according to the old Court fashion at the latter end of a Masque: *Harry* knowes by this I can say somewhat, if his generation does increase and grow great hereafter, faithfull Historians must reckon the *Genealogie* from Madam —— and *Anno Domini* 1639. upon New-yeeres night: And now they say it is become a pretty boy in breeches. I can tell thee of more knots worse than *Gypsies knots* at *Oxford*; There are knots of hemp provided for all that intend to be honest and desert them; There are Papists and Protestants all bundled up together in one knot, and among these there are *Irish* knots of Devils incarnate, which hope to noose up all that will not side with them; and I charge you, *Aulicus*, to have a care of such knots, for they will not be fast and loose at pleasure. The misery of the Junto. Oxford knots.

He tell us, that the oath must serve the Independant, as well as the Presbyterian. No matter whom it serves, so it serves our turnes to maintain the true Service of God, and helpe to keep us from the worst of Services, slavery.

Oxford Doctrine.

Hee tells Mr. *Nye*, and Mr. *Hinderson*, *main sticklers for the two wilde factions.* Here is the sum of their *Oxford* Doctrine, All are Rebellious, which will not submit to Tyrany, and all Clergy men wilde, which will not be tame, and tamed under Episcopacy, nor tuned with Organ pipes, nor turmoyled and stewed in a whole Wardrobe of Altar-clothes, as if their Devotions would catch cold, nor clowted, nor sowced up for Saint-ships, with Lawne-sleeves, Surplesses, and holy-water, and such like pickle of the Popes owne Cookery, and directly according to the *French* and *Spanish* fashion, which were enough to make any men wilde, and betake themselves to wildernesses, and such like places, as many of the Godly and painfull Ministery were forced to doe some few yeers agoe, to converse in other parts of the World scarce habitable: And therefore it behoves all honest men to be earnest and eager in pursuing the downfall of tyrannous Episcopacie and Popery, especially those of the *Reverend Assembly*, whom it neerly concernes to be mindfull of battering the Bishops Canons, their Canon-lawes, their Oath *ex officio*, their Bulls, Excommunications, and unreasonable *Mandamuses*, with all their *Romane* wilde-fire, which set the Kingdome in a cumbustion, and brought us to this wilde passe, and miserable posture.

Rowes Wild-fire.

He tells us that Mr. *Hinderson hath as much Logick as honesty.* Then hee hath more then all your Vniversity, and very well deserves to be Vicechancellor; but that he hath too much honesty for the place at this time.

He saies that Mr. *Hinderson usuall way of Confutation is, turning men out of the Assembly.* Thou deservest no other confutation for this *lie*, but turning over the ladder.

Hee tells us *that one of the Lords house should say, he hoped every man might take the Oath in his owne sense.* The sense of the Oath, *Anticus*, is so plain, so publike to the understanding, that there is no sense in it, but what every man may call his own, which hath his senses about him unbesotted, and unbewitched with Malignancy, whose intellect is not tainted with your *Oxford* sophistications and sophistrie, as your pretended Lords are, who have, speak, and heare no sense which they may call their owne: and this may chance in time to put them quite out of their sences, that ever they should so far forfeit their honours to the black characters of a Chronicle, by deserting the Parliament, and enslaving themselves to a desparate and bloud-thirsty Faction.

The Oath very plain.

Lord Say.

He tels us, *that my Lord* Say *hath out-lived his Lordship.* If an honourable Sepulcher, *Anticus*, and the investiture of a Celestiall Diadem prevent him not, he may chance to out-live some of your infant Lordships, and be a witnesse of their dissolution, and separation at the shoulders: tell them the Honourable Lord is healthy both in body and soule, and that *Tower-hill* stands in the old place, as well as *Tyburne*.

In the next place he proceeds to bely our *Armies* abroad, and tells us of a skirmish
between our souldiers at *Wareham*, and the Lord *Inchiquins* Regiment, at *Holme-*
bridge, three miles from *Wareham*, whereof he tells a most tedious storie, no lesse
prodigious than fictious; and here he would have Captaine *Sydenham* to be shot into
the belly, and dead since of his wounds. *Aulicus*, prethee tell us what the Earle of
Crafford, that presuming *Tartar*, allowes thee for lying him to death: hee dares hee
revenged upon him no other way, lest he should pine abroad for want of Sack; hee
is onely pot valiant in a regiment of browne Bottles, and yet upon occasion he can
run away and leave them behinde him, as easily as his souldiers.

Holme-bridge Skirmish.

Crafords conditions

He tells us of a Contribution setled in the County of *Worcester*, and promised us
the particulars thereof next week: But *Aulicus*, I have perused your next Pamph-
let, and can finde no such matter as you promised. Is this your Intelligence to de-
lude the world? to make men believe a *Worcester shire* contribution, when the op-
pressed people rather wish your confusion? for shame leave off writing *lyes*, or else
for your credits sake be more wary.

Worcester-belyed.

He tells us, that *we have spread a vaine slander that divers of the Nobility have deserted
his Majestie.* The truth of this is sufficiently knowne, and I could wish their exam-
ple were more practised: I can put you in minde of the Earle of *Westmerland*, Earle
of *Monmouth*, Earle of *Thanet*, Earle of *Carlisle*, and the Lord *Pages*, who have ex-
pressed so much of noblenesse as to renounce you, and repent themselves of those
courses wherein you had involved them; Nor did they alone come, but many
Knights, Gentlemen and Citizens also, who have all submitted themselves to the
Parliament, and desire to enjoy the benefit of the *Declaration*.

Lords which have left Oxford.

He tells us, that he *purposedly passed by this report of ours concerning the Nobility deser-
ting his Majesty, till he had an answer under their Lordships rurne hands.* And here he takes
occasion to frame a Letter, directed as it were to the Lords of the Privie Councell,
of *Scotland*, subscribed under the hands of their pretended Lords at *Oxford*: But
these fictitious letters are too stale a trick to be in any repute with men of brains and
judgement; especially if they be pleased to consider that this subscribed matter is
but a meer device, a plot on purpose to delude men, and to vent their own desperate
sence, and to make a gawdy shew of a great number of their Lords wherewith to
catch the simple, which are taken with shadowes, under pretence of writing to the
Privie Councell of *Scotland*. It is so full of thread-bare allegations, such over-
worne stuffe, and hath been so often squeezed in the Presse, that it is come al-
most to nothing, and every line speaks nothing but vanity: yet there are many
which have a finger in or to the businesse: I shall acquaint you with some of their
names: There is who subscribed this *Hypothetical* Epistle.

Oxford pretended Letter.

Ed: *Littleton*. C. S. One that in former time stayed too long here, unlesse he had
been more Cordiall, but it is no matter, he went away in hope to keep the *Stale*
and *Purse* by that meanes, but he was mistaken in his aime, and in time his *Chan-
cellorship* grew as invalid as the pretended Seale, and both now are but counterfeit:
He would returne, I suppose, if he thought he might have more favour here than he
hath there: For to say truth, the man is but little regarded any where, because he
hath done such great service on both sides, first to displease his Majestie with stay-
ing so long here, and then to betray his parliamentary trust in not staying longer.

Some of their names which subscribed.

L. *Cottington*, a *Diego*, a *Don*, a *Gundemare*, an incorrigible *Spaniard* past cure.

M. *Newcastle*. A great pretender to Wit, a Member of Blackfryers colledge, a
Stage-player, one that hath left off his *Cornicall* Sockes to act Tragedies of Cruettie
in the North.

E. *Bristol*. An old subtile Fox kept in heart for the *Spanish* game, and was the first which bestowed on us the name of Rebells, we thanke his *Fundo-sity*.

L. *Digby*. One which treads very close in his fathers steps, and takes order that *Aulicus* should utter his and his fathers contrivements to the life.

E. *Peterburgh*. Alas him lesse chicken: they bade him subscribe, and he had not the wit to deny: He had best take heed how he come hither againe, for his mother will whip him for it.

L. *Hopton*. L. *Jermyn*. L. *Loughborough*. L. *Byron*. foure notable upstarts, Parkfists, mushromes of honour.

I have made the bolder with these Junto-men, because they deale in far more downright termes with us, witnes their frequencie of virulent expressions in their darling *Aulicus* against the High and Honourable Court of Parliament.

The Intelligence.

Aulicus at the latter end of his pamphlet hath many abominable *lyes* against our brethren of *Scotland*, the answer whereof I thought convenient to omit, in regard that the affaires touching them are delivered in our weekly Diurnalls: most certaine it is that fourteen thousand Foot and three thousand Horse of the *Scots* are come over *Tyne*, and the Ordinance of Parliament formerly made against fetching Coales from *Newcastle* is now cashiered, and free liberty granted to fetch coales from *Sunderland* and *Blythe*: This will make the Marquesse crie out *Sancta Maria*, and get him packing with his traine of Poperie, the powder-plotters in the North, a little neerer Southwards: and our valiant Brethren being gotten once on both sides of the Towne, will easily block it up with part of their Forces, while the rest may be upon the backs of the Enemie.

I must needs proclaime *Dick Greenville* to the Countrey in the same termes wherein his Besenesse was proclaimed, and afterwards nailed to a Gibbet erected over against the royall *Exchange*, to that purpose, on friday last in *London*, and in the Palace yeard at *Westminster* upon another Gibbet, in both which places, Proclamation was made by the Provost Martiall, and Trumpeters of his Excellencies armie, which proclamation was fastened to the said Gibbets in these words:

Whereas *Richard Greenville* hath of late presented his service unto the Parliament and hath been entertained by the Parliament as a Colonell of a Regiment of Horse: And whereas the said *Greenville*, contrary to his promise, ingagement, and honour of a souldier, hath basely, unworthily, and faithlessly deserted the said service, and feloniously carried away the money paid unto him in regard of the said service. These are to proclaim the said *Richard Greenville*, *Traitor*, *Rogue*, *Villaine*, and *Scullion*, not onely uncapable of military imployment, but of all acquaintance and conversation with men of honesty and honour: And this proclamation in the meane time, to be nailed on the Gallowes, whilest it shall please God to deliver the said *Greenville* into the hands of Iustice, that he himself may supply the roome of this proclamation.

Done this 15. of March. 1643.

And most worthy is he of hanging, which could harbour so much villany under so many faire protestations, to abuse the trust reposed in him by so noble-minded and valiant a Generall.

Doubt What is the reason that Favourites are ever for the most part enemies to Parliaments?

Satisfaction. Because Favourites doe often insinuate into the Princes minde their own lusts and interests under pretence of publike good, which when they are weighed in parliament, are manifested to be otherwise, and so they are either cushed, or punished for their ambitious desires.

Printed according to Order, for G. Hi[illegible]

29

THE BIRTH-PRIVILEDGE:

OR,

Covenant-Holineſſe

of Beleevers and their Iſſue
in the time of the Goſpel.

TOGETHER
With the Right of Infants to Baptiſme.

By *Thomas Blake* M^r of Arts.

PSAL. 127. 3. *Loe, children are an heritage of the Lord.*

ISAIAH 49. 22.
Behold, I will lift up mine hand to the Gentiles, and ſet up my ſtandard to the people: and they ſhall bring thy ſons in their armes: and thy daughters ſhall be carried upon their ſhoulders.

ACTS 11.17.
Foraſmuch then as God gave them the like gift as he did unto us, who believed on the Lord Jeſus Christ: what was I that I could withſtand God?

March 14 LONDON,
Printed by *G.M.* for *Tho. Vnderhill* at the Signe of the Bible in great Wood-ſtreet. 1644. 1643

To his dearly affected and beloved the Bailiffes and Burgeſſes of the antient Borrough of *Tamworth* in the Counties of *Stafford* and *Warwick* together with all the Inhabitants *of the ſaid Pariſh.*

LOud and piercing are the cryes and groanes under the burden of thoſe preſſures which the hand of God hath brought upon his people: *The yoke* of their *tranſgreſſion is bound by his hand, they are Wreathed, and come upon* their *neck:* Theſe need not to be preſented to your *eyes* or *eares.* The frequent *changes* which you have ſeen, and *viſits* of men *skilfull to deſtroy*, have given you abundant and wofull experience: yet I account it among one of Gods mighty works that your ſorrowes, by his over-ruling providence, are ſo ſtinted, that the rage of men hath not brought them to a greater height: While you have taſted of *Juſtice*, you are not ſhut out from *mercy and compaſſion:* when I might not ſpeake to you, I have held it my dutie *to ſpeake for you:* In the midſt of all, this muſt be our reſt, *That the Lord of hoſts is With us, the God of Jacob is our refuge.* Having a *Covenant of Grace* to plead, we may ſay as *Iſrael* of old, *See We beſeech thee, We are all thy people.* And as *poſteritie* is not the leaſt of our care, to ſeek *a right Way*, as for our *ſelves*, ſo for our *little ones*, that a *generation to come, a people that ſhall be created may praiſe the Lord:* So it is of the greateſt of our comforts, that *poſteritie*, our *little ones*, and thoſe that ſhall be *born*, are bound up of God in the ſame *promiſe*; And that, in one and the ſame plea, we may ſeek to the Throne of Grace, for more then one age at once. When God had ſpoke to *David of his houſe for a great While to come*, revealing it to him,

Ier. 18. 20.
Pſal. 46. 11.
Iſai. 64. 9.
Ezra 8. 21.
Pſal. 102. 18.

2 Sam. 7. 19, 27. that he would *build him an houſe*; *Therefore hath thy ſervant* (ſaith he) *found in his heart to pray this prayer to thee.* The *promiſe* was the *ground*, on which his prayer was bottom'd. Take off the promiſe of God to your houſes for time to come, and the foundation of your prayers for poſteritie is ſhaken. This was the endevour of ſome among you, *who are of thoſe that lye in wait to deceive*, ſcattering in the *dark* ſuch doctrines that will not beare the *light*; which occaſioned theſe preſent meditations, which you once heard delivered in your eares, and now are preſented with ſome advantage (for more full conſideration) to your eyes: I had encouragements to make them publike, eſpecially by the fruit, with which (through Gods mercy) I have underſtood, they were crowned in a way, that I leaſt expected, and being of right your due, as a free-will offering then tendered I could ſeek no other, nor greater Patron. I am more ambitious of your happineſſe, then the favour of thoſe that are placed higheſt. I have ſerved you for Chriſt a *double apprentiſhip of yeares* almoſt compleat; which time hath ſeemed to ſome to have added more then a *third* to the *yeares of the dayes of my pilgrimage*; This is to me the ſtrongeſt engagement of affections, and ſhall ſo remaine. If there have been but one *new born*, or ſo much as a *cubite* added to the *ſtature* of any towards *the meaſure of the fulneſſe of Chriſt*, I have ſufficient; And having not another Legacie, I muſt *commend* to *you*, or rather *you* unto the *Word of Gods Grace, which is able to build you up, and give you an inheritance among all them which are ſanctified*; ſtill *praying* that the *God of peace, that brought again from the dead our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, the great Shepheard of the ſheep, through the blood of the everlaſting teſtament, make you perfect in all good works, to doe his will, working in you that which is pleaſant in his ſight, through Jeſus Chriſt, to whom be praiſe for ever and ever.* Amen.

And remaining yours in all
bowels of affection,

Thomas Blake.

TO THE
Chriſtian impartiall Reader.

OUR *Reſpect to Infants in our tender of them to Chriſt hath been challenged as over-large: The firſt that appeared on that part to denie their acceſſe were his own Diſciples: The firſt that ſtood up for vindication of their right was Chriſt himſelfe: An errour then ſuppreſt, as ſoon as conceived, I would we could make like ſpeed with ſuch heterogeneall fancies, that they might prove ſuch untimely births.* Reforming-*times have ever been found this way unhappily fruitfull; In which* Satan *acts the firſt part, endevouring* evill *in an equall meaſure to that* good *which he ſuſpects is comming to a Nation. The* pride of man *followes cloſe after: Every one thinkes he muſt be* doing, *and bring one* ſtone *at leaſt to the* work, *which if it be not poliſhed in ſome new way the workman is at loſſe of all his honour; And the lower he is in place and ſeemes in parts, the more is his renowne heightened in ſo great atchievements. This makes way for an argument of an immediate call, and ſome what like at leaſt to divine Enthuſiaſmes: which not a few now doe challenge; who being demanded by what* authoritie *they enter upon the work of the* Stewards of the Myſteries of God, *they ſtraight hold forth the* Apoſtles *for their Preſidents, but the* ſignes of ſuch Apoſtles *we want in them. When* Paul *had not a calling* from man, *he could produce it from* Jeſus Chriſt, *and when he received it not* from men, nor was taught *it, he could inſtance in the* Revelation of Jeſus Chriſt: *Which way ſoever it comes to paſſe, the work is much retarded,* and the way of truth ill ſpoken off. *But there is one rule to which we muſt appeale:* The Law and the Teſtimonie. *This triall thoſe of immediate and Divine* Call *did not decline, yea* Chriſt *himſelf did*

Acts 7.14,15.

Gal. 1.1.

Gal. 1.12.

2 Pet. 1.1.

Iſa. 8.20.

Acts 17.11.

Iob.5.39. 2 Pet.1.19. *did desire. And* Peter *when he had* a voice from heaven *to give in, yet he esteemed* a word of Prophecy *as* more sure *for his people. And when we give this honour of Covenant-holinesse and Covenant-seals to Infants, there is all reason that we give the world an account of our practise, especially suffering that Affront, which those in the Gospel met with in their tender of Infants. Here is somewhat produced to that end, and left to thy judicious censure. The Authour hath spared all invective language, and intreats like dealing from any that differs in opinion. Some will complain of a naked Margin, to which much might be said, The Authour was with books, when it was compiled for the* Pulpit, *but taken from them when it was fitted for the* Presse. *So that use of Marginall References must have put him upon the borrowed copies of others, and a new pains for quotation of Chapter & Page. Besides the quotations desired must either have been* friends, *and so their Evidence would be challenged; or else* Adversaries, *which perhaps might provoke some personall offences and distaste, which the Authour studiously professeth to avoid. We all must* stand or Rom.14.4. fall to our Master, *and this dispute must stand or fall according to* Iohn 12.48. *his* sentence *which is the* Voyce of Scriptures. *If this put no end to the difference, the dispute will be everlasting.* Witnesses *from* Luke 16.31. *the* dead *are in vain mustered, when* Moses and the Prophets, Ephes.2.20. Prophets *and* Apostles *cannot be heard. If by this candle from thence lighted thou seest any thing, to make more clear this title, to thy selfe and posterity, let God have the praise, and the Authour thy prayers.*

THE

THE BIRTH-PRIVILEDGE.

GAL. 2. 15.

We who are Jewes by nature, and not ſinners of the Gentiles.

THis Chapter contains a two-fold Narration of the Apoſtle, 1. Of his journey to Jeruſalem, with the ſeverall occurrents which happened there: brought in by him for the vindication of his Apoſtleſhip, from the firſt to the eleventh verſe. 2. Of his dealing with *Peter* at Antioch, which Narration ſome ſay is continued to the end of the Chapter, others that it is broke off at the ſeventeenth verſe, and in the verſes that follow the Apoſtle doth not relate what he ſaid to *Peter*, but directs his words to the *Galathians* to whom he writes, which difference I intend not now to examine. My text is within this laſt Narration or report of the Apoſtle. *The Introduction.*

In which obſerve,

1. The occaſion given by *Peter*: *Before that certain came from* James *he did eat with the Gentiles, but when they were come he withdrew, and ſeparated himſelfe.* *Verſe* 12.

2. The Iſſue which followed upon this carriage of his, *And the other Jewes diſſembled likewiſe with him, inſomuch that* Barnabas *alſo was carried away with their diſſimulation.* *Verſe* 13.

3. The Arguments brought for cõviction of *Peter* of this error, which are two, Firſt,

Verſe 14. First, in the fourteenth verſe, *If thou, being a Iew, liveſt after the manner of the Gentiles, and not as doe the Iewes, why compelleſt thou the Gentiles to live as doe the Iewes?* Thus the Argument runs, It is unreaſonable to draw others into a practice, that thou thy ſelfe purpoſely forbeareſt: But thou thy ſelfe keepeſt not the Jewiſh Rites and Ordinances; And therefore it is an unreaſonable, and a blame-worthy practice, by thy example to compell others to their obſervation: yea, thou being a Jew takeſt thy ſelfe to have freedome, unreaſonably then doſt thou draw on others, who were never under any ſuch obligation.

Verſes 15, 16. The ſecond Argument is in the fifteenth and ſixteenth Verſes, *We who are Iewes by nature, and not ſinners of the Gentiles, Knowing that a man is not juſtified by the works of the Law, but by the faith of Ieſus Chriſt, even we have beleeved in Ieſus Chriſt, that we might be juſtified by the faith of Chriſt, and not by the works of the Law: for by the works of the Law ſhall no fleſh be juſtified:* which is thus inforced: In that way wherein we who are Jewes, with all our birth-priviledges, cannot attain to righteouſneſſe, we may not teach the Gentiles to attain to it: But we who are Jewes by nature, and not ſinners of the Gentiles, cannot this way attain to righteouſneſſe: We know that a man is juſtified by faith, we are compelled to quit the Law, and to cleave to faith without works for juſtification.

The words of the text contain,

Diviſion. { First, the Priviledge of *Peter, Paul Barnabas*, with the reſt of the Jewes.
{ Secondly, The Character of the *Gentiles*, in oppoſition to the *Iewes*.

As to the full purpoſe, for which the words are brought by the Apoſtle, they have (for the ſenſe of them) their dependance on the words that follow; but ſo farre as they contain the priviledge of the *Iewes*, in oppoſition to, and above the *Gentiles*, ſo farre they are full of themſelves, ſhewing firſt *poſitively*, what himſelf and *Peter* were: *Iewes by nature*: Secondly, *Negatively*, what they were not; *ſinners of the Gentiles*.

Explication. For ſome explication: *Nature* is here taken, not in the proper, but vulgar acceptation, *for birth or deſcent from Anceſtors*: As uſually, in our common phraſe of ſpeech, we ſay men are *naturally Dutch, French, Spaniſh, Iriſh*, when they are ſuch *born and bred*, this Scripture therefore *Cameron* cites for one, in which the Apoſtle ſpeaks after the vulgar manner: we have a Scripture paralell with this *Rom.* 11.24. where *Nature*, and *naturall* is only by birth and off-ſpring: *Peter, Paul, Barnabas* were all *naturally Iewes*, born of Jewiſh parents and bred up in the way and Religion of the Jewes: ſuch only *Chriſt* choſe for Apoſtles, being himſelf *a Miniſter of the Circumciſion*: *Peter* therefore being one of the twelve, *Rom.* 15.8. *Act.* 21.3. *Phil.* 3.5. *Act.* 4.36. must neceſſarily be ſuch, *Paul* was ſuch, as we know from his owne mouth, *a Iew, and of the tribe of Benjamin*, *Barnabas* was ſuch *of the tribe of Levi*. And being ſuch, they enjoyed a priviledge which the *Gentiles* wanted, they were by birth & off-ſpring of a *Nation that is holy*: No Nation *was ſo great as they who had God ſo nigh unto them, who had Statutes and Iudgements ſo righteous*. The Jew had every way *Prerogatives & advantages, but chiefly the Oracles of God*: *God had not dealt ſo with every Nation*: when other Nations were *without God*, they had *God nigh unto them*, when others were *unclean*, they were *holy*: *Exod.* 19.6. *Deut.* 4.7, 8. *Rom.* 3.1. *Pſal.* 147.20.

This

This great priviledge of birth Gentiles wanted, and ſo were by off-ſpring *ſinners*, as birth renders all ſo they remaine, *unholy* and *uncleane* among the *holy* and *uncleane*. without any ſuch title to the Covenant of God that thereby they might obtaine any other denomination, they are *dogs* while the people in Covenant are *children*. And by this meanes the ſeeming oppoſition which is betweene this text and that of the Apoſtle *Epheſ.*2.3. is eaſily reconciled; Here the Apoſtle makes *an oppoſition in nature* betweene Jewes and Gentiles; Jewes by nature had a priviledge above Gentiles; there he makes Jew and Gentile *in nature equall*: *We* (ſaith he) *were by nature children of wrath as well as others*, as well as heathens that have no birth-priviledge; *Nature* in that text is not the ſame as *Nature* in this: *Nature there* is taken for the *qualification of nature*, which is equally defiled in Jewes as Gentiles, which is there evidenced in the converſation of the Jewes being (before converſion by grace) the very ſame with the Gentiles: *Among whom alſo we all had our converſation in times paſt, in the luſts of our fleſh, fulfilling the deſires of the fleſh, and of the mind, and were by nature the children of wrath, even as others.* *Nature here* is taken for a *birth-priviledge*, and ſo the Jewes (though in themſelves ſinners) are reputed an holy people, a people by Covenant holy to the Lord: *Nature* ſimply conſidered is ſtained, and renders Jewes and Gentiles equally *ſinners* and obnoxious to Gods wrath, of which Juſtification by faith is an acknowledgement as the Apoſtle here ſhewes, *verſ.*17. But *birth of Jewiſh anceſtors*, of the ſtocke of Iſrael, puts them into a ſelect condition, into the number of a people *holy to the Lord*; Neither is this any contradiction; *Common things* dedicated for holy ſervice and uſe are *holy*, A people by *nature ſinners*, dedicated to the Lord, are for *holy ſervice and uſe*, for the ſervice of the *Lord*, when others are for ſervice of *Idols*; Therefore *Jeruſalem*, a City none of the holieſt for any tranſcendent manners of the Inhabitants thereof, is yet called by the Evangeliſt the *Holy city*, by reaſon of the *temple* and *worſhip* there that were *holy*, and from hence this obſervation followes;

*Epheſ.*2.3.

*Mat.*4.5.

Obſervation.

A people that enjoy Gods Ordinances convey to their Iſſue a priviledge to be reputed of a ſociety that is holy, to be numbred amongſt, not uncleane, but holy perſons.

For proofe, ſee the Covenant of God made with *Abraham*, *I will eſtabliſh my Covnant betweene me and thee, and thy ſeed after thee in their generations, for an everlaſting Covenant, to be a God unto thee and to thy ſeede after thee.* *God* is one party in this Covenant, *Abraham and his poſterity* make the other; theſe in their ſucceeding generations are the people of God, and ſo by *nature* (that is birth priviledge) *holy*. And the Apoſtle ſpeaking of the Iſraelites in his time, ſaith, *To them pertaineth the adoption, and the glory, and the Covenants, the giving of the Law, and the ſervice, and the promiſes.* They were a people in Covenant, having the holy oracles of God they were the ſervants of the great God, and therefore the *glory* above others was theirs. Hence is it that *the Name of God is called upon them* age after age, and not upon any others that joyne not themſelves to them. The *land of their habitation* where they dwelt, and enjoyed this peculiar priviledge is ordinarily

*Gen.*17.7.

*Rom.*9.4.

*Jer.*14.9.
*Iſa.*63.19.

Isa 8.8. stiled the *holy land*, being the land of *Immanuel*. And the *language* which
Isa.19.18. they there spoke the *holy language* being a marke to discerne the *people of God*:
Deut 14.1,2. The distinguishing and discriminating Epithite given to them was still *holy*:
Isa 64.18. Even all of this *roote* who were *branches* of *Abraham*, *Isaack*, *Iacob*, all of
Rom.11.16, this *lumpe* whereof *Abraham*, *Isaack*, *Iacob* were the *first fruits*, they peculiarly
17. had this honour to receive *in their flesh* the signe and seale of this Covenant,
and that in infancy, almost as soone as borne, being eight dayes old, which
Gen.17.12. was their distinction from all others: *Iew* and *Circumcision*, *Iew* and the
people of God were still the same.

Enlargements. To adde some more strength to this observation, take notice of these enlargements.

1. A *loose life* in a parent, who by birth priviledge is of the people of God,
doth not divest his issue of this priviledge, to be of the people of God, but they
are, with a *non obstante*, (notwithstanding any such vicious wayes of the parent) to be enrolled in this number: For proofe of this, looke upon that
act of *Iosua*; when the people were got out of the wildernesse and were
Iosh.5.6,7. brought into the land of *Canaan*; *The children of* Israel *walked forty yeares in the wildernesse, till all the people, that were men of warre, which came out of Ægypt, were consumed, because they obeyed not the voice of the Lord: And the children which he raised up in their stead, them* Joshuah *circumcised, for they were uncircumcised, they had not circumcised them in the way:* you see what the *fathers* were, yet the *children Ioshuah* ordered to be circumcised: concerning their *conversation*, the *parents* were *enemies*, but as touching the *election*, the choyce made of God, the *Issue* is to be numbred among the *beloved*: Who had a worse *father* then *Iosiah*, yet where was there a better *son*,
2 *Chro*.34.3. a circumcised man, who in youth began to seeke the God of his father *David*?

2. *Misbeliefe* in a parent, divests not the Issue of this birth-priviledge, though the father erre in the faith yet the child is not to be shut out of the number of believers: We have, in this particular, our Apostle for a president: Had misbeliefe in the parent, denuded the child of this priviledge, St *Paul*, had not beene a *Iew by nature*, but an *heretick or sectary by nature*,
Acts 23.6. being before conversion *a Pharisee, and the sonne of a Pharisee*: *Scribe* was a
Acts 23.9. name of *office*, but *Pharisee* the name of a *sect*: and therefore Christ warnes
Mat.16.6,11. to *beware of the leaven*, that is, *of the doctrine of the Pharisees*, as of the *Sadducees*; such was *Pauls* parentage, and yet by descent and of-spring he is of the people of the *Iewes*.

3. 3 *Apostasie* from the faith in an immediate parent, who himselfe by descent was of the people of God, doth not debarre the Issue of this priviledge.
2 *Chro*.28.2,3, *Ahaz* was such, yet his posterity were of the *Iewes*, and not *sinners of the*
4. *Gentiles*. *Thou hast taken thy sonnes and thy daughters, whom thou hast borne unto me, and these hast thou sacrificed unto them. Is this of thy whoredomes a small matter, that thou hast slaine my children, and delivered them, to cause them to passe through the fire for them?* These men of spirituall whoredome, worshippers of the *Idoll Molech*, bring forth children to *God*, they make themselves, *sinners of the Gentiles* by their going a whoring from God, and yet their children are *by nature Iewes*, their children *God* doth owne, and

calls

calls *his* children. While the parents live within the pale of the Church, that the ſeed may enjoy ſaving Ordinances, they are to be ſo accounted.

4. *Illegitimation of birth*, adulterous copulation in the parents diveſteth not ſuch Iſſue of this priviledge. *David* had never in that manner ſought in faſting and prayer his childs life, had he beleeved that he muſt not have beene of the ſeed of the Jewes, but the uncircumciſed heathen. *Pharez* was of ſuch a birth, yet who bare a greater name and glory in Iſrael then he? and his family? even where the illegitimation of his birth is noted, there the glory of his Race is magnified, which is yet further honoured, in that *Chriſt*, according to the fleſh, was made of his ſeed, That *ſeed of Abraham per Eminentiam* was out of his loynes. *Iephtah*, was indeed driven out by his brethren, but not becauſe that he was not of the ſeed of the *Iewes* and people of God, but becauſe they would not have him to ſhare of the inheritance among them. 4.

Gen. 38. 29.

Ruth. 4. 12.

Iudg. 11. 2.

1. The maine ground of this, is the great *Charter* of Heaven, which God pleaſes to grant unto thoſe whom he takes, and chooſes to himſelfe upon earth If a King grant to any ſubject a *perſonall* priviledge, as to keepe his great Seale, to be Lord Treaſurer, this priviledge dyes with him his poſterity hath nothing to doe with the Seale or Exchequer, unleſſe the Prince finding them qualified, makes a ſecond choice of them, which doth not often happen. But in caſe the priviledge be *perpetuall* and ſucceſſive, and not terminated in the perſon, but the words of the grant runne to them and their heires, then the priviledge remaines to poſterity. *Noblemen* with us, have their *honours*, not for themſelves only, but their Iſſue; and ſome men have Offices, which they call *Offices of inheritance*: And all *Engliſh* ſubjects, have divers *Immunities* and freedomes. Now the great *Charter* of Heaven, runs in the largeſt words, *to them and their ſeed after them, in all generations.* Reaſons. 1.

Gen. 17. 7. *Acts* 2. 38.

2. This is of the nature of thoſe things, which deſcend from parent to child, from Anceſtors to poſterity; In that *Religion* which is of God we have here found it, and all other *Religions* doe lay claime to it. 2.

There are thoſe things indeed, which are perſonally inherent in men, and proper to them, ſo that they cannot convey them to their iſſue, there is no deriving of them to others by ſucceſſion, as

1. *Individuall accidents* of the body, wounds, ſcarres or ſingular comelineſſe of feature, theſe are ſo in the parent, that they are not conveyed to their children.
2. *Habits or proper guifts*, whether acquired by paines, or infuſed. The ſonne of a learned man inherits not his fathers guifts. The ſonne of an Artificer is no ſuch Artiſt. The ſonne of a Prophet hath not by vertue of birth the guiſt of pophecy, nor is the ſonne of a regenerate man, endowed with ſaving grace for that reaſon.

There are on the contrary, thoſe things that paſſe from parent to child, which the parent *by nature or ſpeciall priviledge*, hath power to convey, as

1. *The eſſentiall* or *integrall parts* of a *ſpecies*, with the naturall properties, that doe accompany it, ſo one *brute beaſt* brings forth another, one *bird* brings forth another, and *man* brings forth one of man-kind.

2. The *priviledges* or *burdens*, which in Family or Nation are hereditary, they are conveyed from parents to posterity, from Ancestors to their Issue: As is the father, so is the child, as respecting these particulars: The child of a *Free-man* with St *Paul* is *free borne:* The child of a *Noble man* is *noble*; The child of a *bond-man* (where servants were wholy their Masters to dispose) is a *bond-man* likewise. So the child, of a *Turke* is a *Turke*; The child of a *Pagan* is a *Pagan*; The child of a *Iew* is a *Iew*; The child of a *Christian* is a *Christian:* As by vertue of the grand *Charter* of Heaven among the people of God, this priviledge doth *descend:* So it is of the nature of those things that are *descendable.*

Acts 22.28.

*Exod.*21.4.

3. 3. The name of *Iew* or *Christian* would not long hold in any family, among any people, if this truth (that there is a generation, according to the flesh, which have this priviledge to be accounted of the people of God) may not be yeelded, but as it is in *trades*, the father is of one, the sonne of another, so we should see it in *religions:* But God provideth for a continuance in succession, from *age* to *age*, from *generation* to *generation*; he keeps them still within Covenant, though many doe degenerate.

Exception. But some say, all this is blowne away at one breath: That the *Iewes* had this priviledge cannot be denied. But this was a priviledge peculiar to the seed of *Abrahams flesh*, and not to the seed of his *faith:* Beleeving *Iewes* had this birthright-priviledge, Beleeving *Christians* have not, they must make profession of their faith before they be accounted among them that be holy.

Satisfaction, 1. In the Negative, the Charter not reverst. I answer, Such a grant God did once vouchsafe by free *Charter* to his people: How can it be made appeare that ever it was *reverst*, or any such *limit* put unto it? The Church of God hath held it in *Fee* by vertue of this *grant* from *Abraham* to this very houre, and there is no word of God to challenge them for usurpation; They that will out us of so long *possession*, must make their *plea* punctuall for our *eviction.*

2. *Heb.*8.6. Secondly, Christians can produce *new Covenant-advancing Scriptures*, that Christs comming put them into a better and more comfortable condition then were beleevers in former ages: I would faine have them to produce any one new *Covenant depressing Scripture*, to shew that we in any case are in a worse or more uncomfortable condition then our fathers.

Object. If it be said that though this Birth-priviledge be taken away, yet we are not in a worse condition having it in other more desireable things enlarged.

Answ. Let these then shew when, and where this was taken away, and what was given in lieu and recompence of this *want*, and *greatest discomfort* that can come to a parent, as a parent, to have his Issue expunged out of the number of Gods people who are holy: Let them produce those *Scriptures*, which so difference the *old* and *new* Covenant made with believers, that the one should be *perpetuall*, the other *personall*; That the Covenant with the *Iew* shall transcend the Covenant with *Christians*, as an *Inheritance* for ever exceeds a *Grant* for terme of life: Let them give us an hint of any Reason why this priviledge should belong to the heires of *Abrahams body*, and not to the heires of his *faith*. That reason held forth by some, that Christ should

come

come out of his *loynes* is of no force, it excludes all the tribes out of that priviledge but *Iudah*, when every tribe of Iſrael in this were equall with *Iudah*, every familie of Iudah's tribe but *David's*; And moſt of all, it would have excluded the ſeed of the *Proſelites*, that according to the fleſh were *ſtrangers* to Iſrael, when yet in this priviledge they were *equall*. *Gen.*17.12,13 *Exo.*12.48,49

But not to reſt in *Negatives*, and *Generals*, (though the firſt grant being preſuppoſed, this might abundantly ſatisfie) but to come to ſome *Poſitive* proofes, particularly evincing this priviledge of Chriſtians. 2. In the Affirmative. The priviledge cotinued.

1. The Apoſtle in time of the new Teſtament, when the Spirit was actually given, propounds this Covenant in as full a *latitude*, and ample *extent*, as ever it was made to *Abraham*, or belonged to the *Iewes*, yea in the like words, as under the old Covenant it was delivered: *Repent, and be baptized every one of you in the Name of Ieſus Chriſt for the remiſſion of ſinnes, and ye ſhall receive the gift of the holy Ghoſt. For the promiſe is unto you, and to your children, and to all that are afarre off, even as many as the Lord our God ſhall call.* I doe not now diſpute the end, why this Covenant is there urged, it is enough for the preſent purpoſe, that ſuch a Covenant yet remaines, and ſo concludes the *promiſe* ſtill to ſtand in its antient *latitude* and *extent*. Had *God* in theſe laſt dayes put this *limit* to it, then the Apoſtle (now the prophecy of the laſt dayes was fulfilled) would not have put this *latitude* upon it. Six Arguments. (1.) *Act.*2.38,39.

2. The Beleevers of the *Gentiles* ſucceed the *Iewes* in the Covenant, *Iewes* were broken off that *Gentiles* might be grafted in; and *Iewes* being broken off *Gentiles* were grafted in for them: And beſide *Scripture-ſilence* of any abridgement of priviledge to the ſucceſſor enjoyed by the predeceſſor, which is a good ground of claime to the ſame, we have further *Evidence* in the ſame place, that it is divolved upon *Gentiles* in as large a way as ever it was enjoyed by *Iewes*: We are now branches of that root by vertue of this inſition; and if the *root* be holy the *branches* are holy, is the Apoſtles argument, and if the *firſt-fruits* be holy, the *lump* is holy. (2.) *Rom.*11.16,17.

Will it be ſaid, that this propoſition is brought by the Apoſtle, to prove a *remaining holineſſe* in the people of the *Iewes*, that they are not ſo *caſt off* but that they ſhall be againe *received*, but intends no proofe of *Holineſſe* in *ſucceſſion* to the *Gentiles*. Obiect.

To this I anſwer, *firſt*, That a propoſition univerſally true may be applyed to all particulars; This poſition is ſuch, and being by the Apoſtle conſeſſedly applyed to the *Iewes*, is of equall truth being applyed to the *Gentiles*. Anſw. 1.

Secondly, I ſay, if the *holineſſe* of the *Root* (*Abraham*, *Iſaac*, and *Iacob* receiving the promiſes) be an argument of weight to prove that the whole body of the people of the *Iewes* (were it not for their preſent actuall unbelief) were all *holy*, with a federall holineſſe, and that this their unbeliefe ſhall yet be done away that they may be again (as before) *holineſſe to the Lord*; Then it much more proves that the *Gentiles* remaining in the *Root*, and continuing in the *faith* are univerſally Root and branch holy. 2.

But this with the Apoſtle is an argument of weight, as plainly appears in the Chapter: See *verſ.*28. and 29. *As concerning the Goſpel, they are enemies for your ſakes: but as touching the election they are beloved for the fathers ſakes.*

They were enemies to the Gospel for the Gentiles sake, that *they* might be received, but beloved for their fakes out of whose loynes they issued, and that they shall therefore be again received, is there also demonstrated, seeing *the gifts and calling of God are without repentance.*

Objct. Will it be further said, that the Branches, *actually* by faith *engrafted*, are holy, but it doth not follow that these, as a Root, *transmit* any such holinesse to their Issue.

Answ. 1. To this I answer, that the consequence is necessary, first, because the branches of *Ancestors* are the Root of *posteritie*, being made an holy branch; in reference to their issue they now become an holy Root: *Iesse* was a branch of *Abrahams* stock, yet he was the Root of *David* and of *Christ*: A *subordinate* Magistrate is a subject, in reference to his *superior*, yet a man of *authoritie* and command in respect of his *inferiours*: Each man is his fathers *child*, but his childs *father*: So it is here, a *branch* of those that *went before*, is the *root* of those that *follow after.*

Isai.11.1.

2. Secondly, The Apostle hath not at all to deale in that place with a *personall* holinesse, but with an holinesse *derivative* and of succession, the personall holinesse mentioned in the objection, and maintained by the adversaries of this Doctrine is qualitative and inherent, derived from no other Root then *Christ*; this here is from *Abraham*, *Isaac*, and *Iacob*, receiving the promises: Either no holinesse at all comes this way to Beleevers, as from *Abrahams* stock, or else it is such as *Abraham* by vertue of the Covenant doth communicate to posteritie.

(3.) *Exod.19.6. Deut.14.1,2. Isai.61.18. 1 Pet.2.9.* 3. The *Grand Birth-priviledge*, by the Jewes enjoyed, is to be an *holy Nation*, to have the whole body of their people, as distinguished from others, accounted *holy to the Lord*: This was peculiarly their *honour* from age to age, from generation to generation; But this honour to be a *chosen generation*, an *holy Nation*, a *people peculiar* (Phrases as high as ever were given the Jewes) is given to beleeving Christians: Christians therefore in this Birth-priviledge equall the Nation of the Jewes.

Objct. Neither will this be avoyded, by affirming that the text in *Peter*, is meant of the Church invisible, the living and lively members of Christ, who are all holy by an *inherent qualitative* holinesse of *sanctification*; So that here is not any *equalizing* of the body of Christians with the Nation of the Jewes, but only an *allusion* to the titles, given the Iewes to advance the Excellencie of regenerate Christians, called according to Gods purpose.

Answ. The contrary to this in the text is cleare: First, by *looking backe* to the words that there precede; It is meant of all those who doe not professedly, with the unbeleeving Iewes, reject Christ Iesus, which will yet more fully appeare by comparing the words of St *Paul*, *Rom.* 9.32,33. But all that doe not professedly reject Christ Iesus, are not men called and qualified as before, *Simon Magus* had enough to make him one of this number: Secondly, by *looking forward*, to that which followes in the *Character* which the Apostle (before he ends his description) addes: *Which in times past were not a people, but now are the people of God*; A speech taken from the Prophet, to set out the case of the Gentiles, as it is also by St *Paul* interpreted, *Rom.* 9.26. But

Hos.2.23

the

the Gentiles, thus called, and of no people made a people, have all a Covenant-holineſſe, and not alwayes holineſſe inherent. The Gentiles are called from *no-covenant*, into *covenant*; from *non-federation*, into *federation*; This is that call, and therefore a call into Covenant: The *Call* of thoſe who are not a people to be a people of God is the *call of Nations into Covenant*, *Deut.* 32.21. *Rom.* 10.19. *I will move them to jealouſie, with thoſe that are not a people, I will provoke them to anger, with a fooliſh Nation:* But this in the text is ſuch a *Call*, and therefore it is the call of a people into Covenant. *Deut.* 32.21. *Rom.* 10.19.

4. If there yet remaine in the boſome of the Church, children *born after the fleſh*, ſo that the diſtinction of *births* as applyed to *Abrahams* ſeed ſtill hath place among beleeving Chriſtians, And that which fully anſwers to *Circumciſion of the fleſh* remaineth among Chriſtians likewiſe, then it muſt needs follow, that there is in the Church, that priviledge of *birth-holineſſe* ſtill continuing: The *conſequence* is evident, ſeeing the *birth of the fleſh*, where this birth-priviledge is denyed, gives no *Church-intereſt* or title at all; neither doth *Circumciſion of the fleſh*, or that which is paralell with it, evidence any ſuch Intereſt or Title: All ſuch are excluded according to this Tenent, who are of carnall deſcent only, and can claime no other Intereſt. (4.)

This muſt needs be of force with them who affirme that *Infants* (who formerly were members by vertue of birth-priviledge) *then were deprived and caſt out, when the Iewes Church and State was abrogated, by the comming of Chriſt*, and *planting other Churches, farre different from that of the Iewes in many reſpects, That, conſtituted upon nature* (they ſay) *and the naturall ſeed of Abraham. This, upon grace, and the ſpirituall ſeed of Abraham; That, therefore termed Iſrael according to the fleſh, and circumciſion of the fleſh; This, Iſrael according to the Spirit, and circumciſion of the heart:* If then there yet remaine, thoſe that are to ſtiled; infants of Chriſtians by their own argument, are not rejected, and no ſuch difference between *Iew* and *Chriſtian*, between the State of the Church *then*, and the State of the Church *now*, is to be admitted. 7

But there yet remaines in the boſome of the Church of Chriſtians thoſe that have no other title or intereſt then by vertue of birth after the fleſh: This diſtinction of births which they ſay is abrogated is of the ſame force and uſe now as it was when *Abraham* was alive, and that which is full paralell with circumciſion of the fleſh ſtill remaines: The former, namely diſtinction of births, we have from St *Paul*: *But as then he that was born after the fleſh, perſecuted him that was borne after the Spirit, even ſo it is now.* How is there truth in this aſſertion of the Apoſtle, that *ſo it is now*, if this diſtinction of births, be now *abrogated* and *aboliſhed*? if there be not in the Church of Chriſtians thoſe that have the ſame title, and no other, or more noble then had *Iſhmael*? of whom the Apoſtle is there to be underſtood. *Gal.* 4.29.

I ſee the exception that will be taken by ſome at the phraſe [*born of the fleſh*] which ſome will interpret not by naturall *deſcent*, but *corruption* of nature. But this can be the exception but of a few of thoſe who are herein adverſaries, ſeeing they beleeve no ſuch corruption of birth in *Iſhmael*, nor any other; Neither indeed were *Abrahams* children ever ſo diſtinguiſhed, by a birth in *corruption*, and a birth in *grace*, being all borne in corruption. Birth of the fleſh. *Obiect.*

fleſh here is the ſame as *kinſmen according to the fleſh*, Rom.9.3. *and children of the fleſh*, Rom.9.8. But there no birth in *corruption*, but a birth of *nature*, and naturall deſcent is only underſtood: Men of no other then a carnall title perſecuted *then*, men that are thus, and no otherwiſe intitled to the number of the people of God take the ſame wayes *now*: Both branches of the diſtinction are therefore ſtill with Chriſtians.

For the latter, namely that which fully anſwers to the circumciſion of the fleſh we have from St *Peter*, who ſpeaking of ſalvation by Baptiſme puts by way of parentheſis this diſtinction, *Not the putting away the filth of the fleſh, but the anſwer of a good conſcience towards God*: where, *putting away the filth of the fleſh* is the ſame with the *Circumciſion of the fleſh*, and *the anſwer of a good conſcience towards God*, is the ſame with the *circumciſion of the heart*. This diſtinction is therefore ill applyed, when that which is *outward* and of the *fleſh* is only applied to *Iewes*; and that which is *inward*, and of the *heart* only unto *Chriſtians*. The Jewes had that which was *inward*, and of the *heart*, as well as *we*; and we have that which is *outward* and of the *fleſh* as well as *they*: Such doctrine will conclude the whole body of the Jewes without exception under *condemnation*, as having *no holineſſe inward* or *ſpirituall*; and all *Chriſtians* in a like generality in the ſtate of *ſalvation*, as being all *inwardly holy* and *ſpirituall*: we ſhall have neither high way rocky nor thorny ground, but only good ground, good and honeſt hearts among us, if it be circumciſion of the heart, and Iſrael according to the Spirit that alone denominates us Chriſtians.

1 *Pet.*3.21.

*Deut.*30.6. *Ier.*5.26.

(5.) 5. The ſeed of beleeving parents under the Goſpell, muſt be looked upon under one member of this diviſion in the text, the Apoſtles diſtinction is full and compleate, either they muſt be accounted of *the people of God* who are *relatively* and *federally* holy, as were Jewes, or elſe out of the number, and under the ſecond head of *unholy* and out of *Covenant*, as were *ſinners of the Gentiles*; a third cannot be aſſigned; the Apoſtles diſtribution may not be challenged. If it be under the firſt head that they are looked upon, we have what we contend for; If under the ſecond, then the heavy doome of *ſinners, Gentiles, Aliens* is theirs; they are then *without Chriſt*, *without hope*, *without God in the world*, which will be heavy and unwelcome tidings to tender parents, that they bring not forth children (as the Jewes did) *to God*, but to *the god of this world*; that *God* doth not ſay of them (but *Satan* may) *my children*, leaving them in no better condition, then the ſeed of the *Heathen, Pagans, Turks, Infidels*, as is freely confeſſed by ſome. And what condition that is, we may learne from the Prophets *David* and *Ieremy*. *Powre out thy fury upon the heathen that know thee not, and the families that call not upon thy name.* The whole of their flocke, for ought in Scripture appeares, have no other portion.

*Epheſ.*2.12.

Ier 10.25. *Pſal.*79.6.

(6.) 6. We have the Apoſtles authority expreſſely affirming, that this *birthright priviledge of Covenant-holineſſe* ſtill appertaines to the ſeed of beleevers, where either of the parents are beleeving; *The unbeleeving husband is ſanctified in the wife, and the unbeleeving wife is ſanctified in the husband, elſe were your children uncleane, but now are they holy.* The whole ſeed therefore is to be

1 *Co* 7.14.

be accounted in the number of thoſe that are holy (which in the text is the condition of the Jewes) and not among uncleane, which here the Apoſtle calleth, ſinners of the Gentiles. *A birth-priviledge of holineſſe* therefore ſtill remaines.

Here it is replyed that by *holineſſe* in this place is meant *legitimation*, by *uncleanenеſſe* is underſtood *baſtardy*: ſo that the meaning of the Apoſtle is, elſe were your children *ſpurious*, or a *baſtard birth*, but now they are *legitimate*, as borne in *wedlocke*; The mariage is ſanctified in reſpect of Iſſue, not for *covenant holineſſe*, ſo as to put them into the number of an holy people, but to *legitimize* them, and to take the infamy of *baſtardy* away from them. Obiect.

By way of anſwer I would make theſe demands; Firſt, Whether they will give the like interpretation of this text in hand, which is every way paralel, and anſwers in either of the branches? Doth the Apoſtle here meane, *wee that are by birth legitimate, and not baſtards of the Gentiles*; Phraſes thus paralel from one pen, will hardly admit interpretations ſo different. Quæres. 1.

Secondly, Whether ever they read in Scripture, or any other Authour theſe two oppoſite Epithites, *uncleane* and *holy*, in ſuch a ſenſe or meaning; that holy ſhould be legitimate, and uncleane ſpurious or baſtardy: In ſuch births uncleanenеſſe is indeed *the parents ſinne*, but I never read or heard that it was *the childs Epithite*: Singular opinions put men upon ſingular interpretations. 2.

Thirdly, Whether it had been a baſtard birth, if neither party had been of the faith? whether mariage be not valid (being no Ordinance proper to the Church, but common to all man-kind) aſwell among heathens as Chriſtians? 3.

But to give more particular ſatisfaction, as in the negative, that it is not meant of legitimation; ſo alſo in the affirmative, that it is to be underſtood of a Covenant-holineſſe of the children of beleevers.

For the negative, 1. A reſult or fruit of faith in the parent, cannot be the legitimation of the Iſſue: *faith* and *legitimation of Iſſue* being of diſtinct kinds. An unbeleever may have iſſue legitimate; and men profeſſing the faith, with *Iudah*, *Gilead*, *David*, may have iſſue illegitimate. But holineſſe in the text, is a fruit or reſult of faith in the parent; The unbeleeving, whether husband or wife, contributes nothing to this holineſſe; all that they doe is that (being maried to a beleever) they are no impediment: They are *ſanctified*, they doe not *ſanctifie*, The *ſanctifying* power, to the producing of the holineſſe of the Iſſue, is made proper to the beleeving party. The unbeleever is *ſanctified*, ſo that both together make an holy root to produce an holy branch. Anſw. 1. Negative, Not legitimation.

It will be ſaid that *beleeving* is not in the text, *the words are, that the unbeleeving husband is ſanctified in the wife, and the unbeleeving wife is ſanctified in the husband*, not in the *beleeving wife*, nor in the *beleeving husband*, ſo that the text makes it not any reſult or fruit of faith.

This weake objection hath an eaſie anſwer, It is the wife of an unbeleeving

husband, the husband of an unbeleeving wife, when the marriage is between a beleever, and an unbeleever.

Secondly, One parent is not to be preferred before another, as to be alone, in giving that honour to the issue in which both are equall: But here one parent is preferred before another, in giving this honour of holinesse to the issue: Therefore it cannot be legitimation of the issue, in which either of both, whether beleeving or unbeleeving are equall: A *Noble-man* marrying a *meane woman* the Issue hath *honour* from one, *legitimation* alike from both; The wife is honoured, but doth not honour: So it is here, An infidell marrying a beleever is sanctified, doth not sanctifie; the issue hath this honour of holinesse from the parent of honour, but legitimation (as all confesse) equally from either; something else therefore then legitimation must needs be the meaning.

2. In the Affirmative but Covenant-holinesse.

For the affirmative, that it is meant of *Covenant-holinesse*, That interpretation which here directly answers, that which in all reason was the *Quæstum or scruple* wherein the *Corinthians* in their letter to the Apostle desired resolution, That *exactly answers each branch of the text*, and *runs full paralel with other places of Scripture*, that must needs be taken for the interpretation. But this interpretation of *Covenant-holinesse* is such that answers their *scruple*, exactly agrees with *each branch of the text*, and runs *full paralel with other places of Scripture*. This therefore cannot be denied to be the genuine and full interpretation of the place.

It was their scruple.

For the first; making it their *scruple* whether they might continue their marriage society with one out of the Covenant of God, they could not but *scruple* what should become of their *Issue*, whether they were to be accounted as they themselves, of the number of the people of God, or to be excluded from them with their unbeleeving parent; especially seeing in *Ezras* time, those that married *strange wives* were enjoyned to put them away, and such *as were borne of them*; and in *Nehemiah's* time the Issue is branded as *of a mixt and mongrell kind* that were so deserended: which is also further strengthned by the Priests answers to the severall cases of conscience, by Gods appointment propounded by *Haggai* the Prophet, *If one beare holy flesh in the skirt of his garment, and with his skirt doe touch bread, or pottage, or wine, or oyle, or any meat, shall it be holy? And the Priest answered and said*, No. The touch of an uncleane thing by a cleane, doth not sanctifie it, as the case is there resolved: Againe, *If one that is unclean by a dead body, touch any of these shall it be unclean? and the Priest answered and said*, it shall be unclean. The touch of a cleane thing by an uncleane doth pollute it, as is there resolved likewise: This might justly occasion the *Corinthians* feare, that they and their issue might be polluted by society with this uncleane party, and that the uncleane party or their issue, could not by them be sanctified. And the Apostle returning answer to both (not only to their continuance in marriage-fellowship, but also to that which concernes their issue,) evidently manifests that their scruple was alike in both.

Ezra 10.3. *Nehe.* 13.24.

Hag. 2.12.

Vers. 13.

It answers the text.

For the second; that it fully agrees with the circumstances of the text:

Here

Here is a *couple* joyned in marriage, one of them *holy*, of the people of God; the other *uncleane*, a ſinner of the Gentiles, and a ſtranger to them; the Iſſue muſt take after the one, and the anſwer (as concerning the Iſſue) is fitted to both; To the *unbeleeving negatively*, through ſanctification in the beleeving partie they are not *uncleane*; to the *beleever affirmatively*, they are *holy*.

For the laſt: that it runnes paralell with other places of Scripture, this text is an abundant witneſſe: The people of God are ſtill thus honoured for *an holy nation, an holy people, a people of holineſſe*: Men out of Covenant ſtill branded, as *uncleane*, *dogs*, *ſinners*, and the like appellations: This Scripture holds therefore firme for proofe of the aſſertion, That Chriſtians have their Birth-right Priviledge, that they tranſmit a Covenant-Holineſſe to their Iſſue, even to their whole poſterity. Its paralell to other Scriptures. 1 *Pet.* 2. 9. *Deut.* 14. 1, 2. *Iſai.* 61. 18. *Matth.* 15. 16.

Neither is it to purpoſe to object, that contradictions here are joyned to produce one and the ſame effect, An *holy* and *unholy* perſon to being forth *holy Iſſue*: This was the doubt which the Corinthians objected, and the Apoſtle ſolves; ſeeing the unbeleever, whether husband or wife, is ſanctified; ſo that they jointly make one Root for to bring forth an holy branch. *Object.* *Anſw.*

And thus it was (though the contrary be objected) in the time of the Law, one parent being within the Covenant, the childe was *circumciſed*; And therefore *Paul* circumciſing *Timothy*, whoſe father was *a Greeke*, the reaſon given is, that his *Mother was a Iewеſſe*: And the Example of putting away of thoſe that were borne of ſtrange wives from *Ezra* 10. is ſtrangely by ſome here objected, ſeeing the wives themſelves were there put away, and here the Apoſtle (they know) orders otherwiſe: If they ſee that S. *Pauls* rule accords not in the one, how is there a neceſſity that it ſhould accord in the other? Something there was in that Example ſpeciall and extraordinary, as there was in *Mordecai's* not bowing *the knee to Haman*: whether it were that now they were anew (as it were) to forme their Church, upon their return from *Babylon*; and were not willing to admit ſuch a mixture, eſpecially ſo many offending, as to make a conſiderable partie: or whether the Nations with whom they had joyned themſelves were of thoſe particularly forbidden them, *Deut.* 7. or under any ſpeciall curſe as *Amalek* was, which ſome conceive was the reaſon that *Mordecai* refuſed to give that honour to *Haman* an *Amalekite*: Certain it is that it agrees not with other preſidents; we have examples of Marriages not a few with Heathens, which though it was their ſin, yet there is no ſentence of nullitie paſſed, nor were the wives or Iſſue rejected: And the Corinthians caſe was yet fairer, their Marriage was without ſin, ſeeing they had not elſewhere to joyne themſelves in marriage, being then both parties heathens, and one partie being converted, the marriage by the Apoſtles ſentence ſtill holds, and the Iſſue to be reckoned with the beleeving parent. *Anſw.* *Acts* 16. 3.

Neither is here that which is proper to regeneration, given (as ſome object) to *naturall generation*: *Object.*

1. It was ſo with the Iewes, as is confeſſed, they had this *Birth-priviledge of Covenant-Holineſſe*, and yet that which was proper to Regeneration, was *Anſw.*

not then given to naturall generation, either of both births have from God, and among the people of God their proper right.

2. The Holineſſe which we here maintaine is no fruit of *Nature*, (ſo it could not have been proper to the Iew, but common to the Gentile) but from the Covenant *of free grace*, to all in the faith and their ſeed: Regeneration workes *gratious qualifications*, 1 *Iohn* 5.4. This birth-right only entitles to *outward priviledges*: Regeneration therefore is not at all here *wronged*, nor naturall generation over-highly *advanced*: let thoſe that frame the objection take heed leſt themſelves run upon this Rock, denying all corruption of nature, or birth-ſin, they make Regeneration of no uſe. If all were right in the firſt birth there needed not another to follow, as the Apoſtle ſpeakes of Covenants, ſo I may ſay of births: *If the firſt had been faultleſſe, there ſhould no place have been ſought for the ſecond.*

Heb. 8.7.

Conſectary. 1. Of Infants Baptiſme by neceſſary inference.

Hence it neceſſarily followes by way of *Conſectary*, that the infants of Chriſtian parents are debarred of their right, if they be not in infancie *tendered* and *admitted* unto the Ordinance of *Baptiſme*: They are *God's*, and we muſt render them to *God*: *Chriſt* hath intereſt in them, they muſt therefore be dedicated to him: They are of the number of thoſe that are *holy*, and therefore they are to be received and inrolled in the *number*: *Baptiſme* is a diſtinguiſhing note between the people of God, and thoſe who are ſtrangers from him; They are His, and they muſt therefore be thus diſtinguiſhed. The force of this conſequence the adverſaries doe no leſſe then acknowledge, forcing the Scriptures which evidently evince this Covenant-Holineſſe, unto ſtrained interpretations, on purpoſe to avoid it: Upon this ground *infants* under the law were *circumciſed*, and upon the ſame infants now are to be baptized: ſo that it is not barely the *Analogy* betweene *Circumciſion* and *Baptiſme*, by which we inforce the baptiſme of infants, but the grounds of both *Circumciſion* and *Baptiſme*: What is objected againſt one concludes againſt both: *Circumciſion* and *Baptiſme* are therefore by the Apoſtle promiſcuouſly taken; there being the ſame principall and maine end of both. What can Baptiſme ſigne and ſeale but *the righteouſneſſe of faith*? This, circumciſion did ſigne and ſeale to *Abraham* and his poſteritie. Reade that which the Apoſtle obſerves of *Abrahams* circumciſion, and compare it with the hiſtory of the Eunuches Baptiſme, and ſee where you can finde them differ. *Faith was reckoned unto Abraham for righteouſneſſe: How was it reckoned* (ſaith the Apoſtle) *in circumciſion or in uncircumciſion; not in circumciſion but in uncircumciſion. And he received the ſigne of circumciſion a ſeale of the righteouſneſſe of faith, which he had yet being uncircumciſed.* The Eunuch on his journey with *Philip*, comming to a certain *water* ſaith, See here is *water*, what doth hinder me to be *baptized*? And *Philip* ſaid, *If thou beleeveſt with all thine heart thou maiſt.* And he anſwered and ſaid, *I beleeve that Jeſus Chriſt is the Son of God. And he commanded the chariot to ſtand ſtill, and they went down both into the water, and he baptized him.* May we not make the ſame obſervation of this Baptiſme, as the Apoſtle doth on *Abrahams* circumciſion? He received the *ſigne of Baptiſme, a ſeale of the righteouſneſſe of the faith, which he had being yet unbaptized*: So that the main end and uſe is the ſame in both: All appertaining

Col. 2.11, 12.

Rom. 4.11.

Rom. 4 9, 10, 11

Act. 8.36, 37, 38.

pertaining to this faith were *circumciſed, and their ſeed.* All appertaining to this faith are to be *baptized, and their ſeed.* Hence it is that St *Peter* on this ground of the Promiſe made to beleevers and their ſeed, encourages his Converts unto Baptiſme, *Repent, and be baptized every one of you in the Name of Ieſus Chriſt, for the remiſſion of ſinnes, and ye ſhall receive the holy Ghoſt, for the promiſe is made to you and your children, and to all that are afarre off, even as many as the Lord your God ſhall call.* Whence I reaſon, in the ſame latitude as the promiſe is laid downe, the enccuragement is alſo urged, to receive the ſigne and ſeale of it. But the promiſe is laid downe in that latitude, to comprehend Converts and their ſeed, Converts therefore and their ſeed are to be baptized. Can there be any reaſon given, why the ſeed ſhould be mentioned in the Motive or Encouragement to receive Baptiſme, if they were to be excluded from Baptiſme? Accordingly when an houſholder was baptized, all the houſhold were baptized, *He and all his*, Acts 16.15. ver. 33.

Strengthened by Scriptures. 1.

Acts 2.38,39.

Acts 16.15. *Verſ.* 33. 1 *Cor.* 1.16.

Will it be ſaid that this promiſe in this latitude is there tendered onely to the Jewes?

Object.

To this I reply. Firſt, that then *Iewes* receiving Chriſt (as theſe now did and were here encouraged) ſtill enjoy this birth-priviledge, which being yeelded to them cannot be denied to the *Gentiles* receiving the faith, without a ſingular *ſchiſme between Iew and Gentile.* They that murmured that their *widowes* were *neglected*, would ſoone have murmured when their *ſeed* had been *excluded.* And ſecondly, I affirme that the Gentiles are equally there included with the Jewes in the promiſe, as concerning the ſeed, as the Copulative particle (*and*) fully evinceth, it couples not one peece onely but the whole of the promiſe.

Anſw.

Acts 6.1.

There is yet an objection that ſeemes to take with more colour; That this promiſe had reference to the *gift of the holy Ghoſt*, promiſed by *Ioel* the Prophet, here by the Apoſtle, *ver.* 17. &c. mentioned, and the Apoſtle here ſpeaking of the promiſe to his Converts and their children, onely makes good what he had ſaid, that they ſhould receive the *holy Ghoſt*, and that by authorize of the Prophet. *Ioel* promiſes that their ſonnes and their daughters ſhall propheſie, and this is that promiſe which is here tendered by the Apoſtle to them and their children.

Object.

I anſwer: Firſt, the extraordinary gifts of the holy Ghoſt in this viſible way, cannot be the promiſe here by St *Peter* mentioned, ſeeing it is enlarged to all that are *afarre off, even to as many as the Lord ſhall call.* But all theſe have not the holy Ghoſt in that way extraordinary, nor any promiſe of it: That is a *Baptiſme* proper to thoſe *primitive Saints*, that *Baptiſme with the holy Ghoſt and with fire*, wherewith they were told that they ſhould *be baptized not many dayes after.*

Anſw.

Matt. 3.11.

Acts 1.5.

Secondly, however the promiſe be interpreted ſo as to belong to all that are beleevers, *and call on the Name of the Lord*, as there followes; yet that promiſe is on condition of their Baptiſme. The *meanes* are to be uſed in reference to the *end*: *Baptiſme* is the *meanes*, receiving of the *holy Ghoſt*, (there ſpecified) is the *end*: And the Apoſtle confirming them in the promiſe of the end, doth likewiſe encourage them to the uſe of the meanes, in Baptiſme

to expect the gift of the Spirit; and so (according to this interpretation) that place is an encouragement to Baptisme: The promise is the first encouragement to the signe and seale of the promise: Baptisme is the signe and seale to which they are here encouraged, and in that latitude, as they had formerly known the command of Circumcision.

Object. And the Evasion is too weake to say that *children* here are the same with *sonnes and daughters* mentioned from the Prophet, and therefore to be meant of none but such that are of growth, and capable of the gift of prophecy.

Answ. The Apostle urgeth the promise in the way as in the Scriptures it is delivered, which is to men and their posterity, to them and theirs; so God promises to be a God in Covenant to *Him, and their seed*, which people in Covenant have a promise also from him of the Spirit, and this the Apostle holds out to draw them on to this seale of the Covenant, to accept Baptisme on the same termes that *Abraham* did circumcision.

Secondly, it is without reason to beleeve that the Apostle should instance in one peece of the distribution of the Prophet there, and to leave out the rest, to put in alone *sonnes and daughters*, when we have in the text *young men, old men, servants and hand-maids*.

Thirdly, *Children* here are mentioned under a promise to the *parents*, *To you and your children is the promise made*, but not so in *Joel*, nor in the quotation of the Apostle: That Scripture hath only an Enumeration of the severall sorts and conditions of people in any nation, on all which the Spirit is promised, without any addresse made to the parents of those sonnes and daughters, more then to the Masters of those servants and hand-maids: not the sonnes and daughters of *their flesh*, but the sonnes and daughters of *the Nation*, a language usuall in our ordinary expressions, speaking of men of any sort or condition, *as your Lawyers, your Merchants*, &c. so here *your sonnes, your daughters, your old men, your young men*, &c.

2. For further confirmation: Those whom *Christ receives* the *Church* may not *refuse*; The *Church* consists of those that visibly appeare to be *Christs*. But *Christ* admits children, *little children*, in their infancy, such that he takes into *his armes, Suffer little children to come to me and forbid them not*; who dare be so *rigid* when Christ is thus *candid*?

Matth. 19.4. *Matth.* 18.14. *Mar.* 10.14. *Luk.* 18.16.

The *Kingdome of Heaven* receives them, the *Church* therefore may not exclude them: The *Church* receives those whom *glory* receives, There *were daily added to the Church such as should be saved*: But the Kingdome of Heaven receives little children, *Of such is the Kingdome of Heaven*.

Acts 2.47.

Object. Let none say that the Kingdome of Heaven is of *such* (that is) of those that are graced with such qualities, that are *humble and meeke* as little children are: That may be elsewhere Christs way of *instruction*, it cannot be here his *argumentation*.

First, there is no manner of consequence in the argument thus pressed: Let little ones an infinitie come to me, for though not they, yet such as they, others qualified like them, in some select properties resembling them shall goto Heaven?

Secondly, Upon the same ground, *Sheep, Doves, Vine-branches*, might have

have been brought to him, for ſuch are reſemble them, in like ſelect properties, ſhall be received into the kingdom of Heaven: And Chriſt might have drawne it not a ſimilitude from them.

Thirdly, that which the Diſciples took to be an impediment of force to hinder infants, and a juſt ground of rebuke of thoſe that brought them, is that which Chriſt underſtands in this reproofe of the Diſciples, and admiſſion of their infants. But it was their want of growth, their littleneſſe which the Diſciples took to be a juſt impediment; and which occaſioned their reproofe; So that the particle *(ſuch)* hath direct reference to the *quantity* (as I may ſay) not to the *quality* of theſe infants, to their *infant ſtature*, not to their *meekeneſſe or humility*: And ſo it is referred elſewhere expreſſely by our Saviour himſelfe, *Who ſo ſhall receive one ſuch little child*; The word is the ſame *here* and *there*, it reſpects *littleneſſe* therefore and not *meekeneſſe*: The whole text may be thus fitly paraphraſed, *Trouble not our Maſter with ſuch as theſe* (ſay the Diſciples) *there is no uſe of their cunning, they need not his cure, and they are not capable of his inſtruction; They have no infirmity to be healed, no capacity to be taught, It is fit for men of abler parts, not for infants to make their addreſſe to him: Let them come* (ſaith our Saviour) *and let not their infant-age exclude them, how little ſoever they are capeable of the kingdome of Heaven.* Mat. 18. 5.

Having the *ſubſtance and thing ſignified* in baptiſme they may not be denied the *ſigne*: This is the Apoſtles way of diſpute, *Acts* 10. 47. And to deny them to have the thing ſignified in baptiſme is an aſſertion of odious conſequence: *Chriſt is the thing ſignified* in baptiſme as in all other Sacraments, *Gal.* 3. 27, &c. And denying them *Chriſt*, you either exclude them from *ſalvation* with the *Papiſts*, or elſe exempt them from *Originall ſinne* with the *Pelagians*: The *Anabaptiſts* of the preſent age are well aware that the conſequence can be no other; they well ſee that all that joyne in this Tenent, ſaile between thoſe *rockes*, either to affirme, *that infants die in their pollution and periſh in their birth-ſin*; or elſe to deny *this originall pollution or any birth-ſin at all*; the latter of the two they therefore generally chooſe; judging it more faire to deny infants ſinne, then to affirme their condemnation; joyning hands with *Pelagians*, an hereſie of old and *forepaſt dayes*, rather then with *Papiſts* the *preſent yoke and ſcourge of Chriſtians*: And taking with theſe, to deny *originall ſinne*, they ſtraight fall upon *univerſall grace*, *freedome of will in things ſpirituall*: *The free election of God* they overthrow, leaving it in our power to *make choyce of Chriſt*, and *not Chriſt to make choyce of us*; And ſo *Popery* is no ſooner left, but it is againe found, they joyne hands with it as ſoone as they have left it: And all ſuch who have not yet waded ſo deepe, but now begin to ſet this way, I wiſh them to weigh with themſelves what other way they can find to make children uncapeable of Baptiſme; unleſſe they alſo make good ſuch *originall purity* that they ſtand not in need of *Chriſt*, or elſe be contents to yeild that they periſh in their ſinne without Chriſt: withall ſadly taking to heart whether the *Genius* of this doctrine leades, plunging almoſt all that give it entertainement into ſo many damnable and pernicious errours; ſuch as themſelves upon the firſt entry abominate: By Argument 1.

abominate: If they think that they can make it good in this more innocent way, keeping their judgements without taint of the errours mentioned, they see more then all the Orthodox Churches, whom in this they have left, and the whole body of those to whom they beginne to joyne themselves: The Churches whom they have left, will be afraid to own them, and the Sect to whom in this they are joyned will much more abominate and reject them; The deniall *of birth-sinne* is the readiest way to the deniall *of birth holinesse*; and no other way to be taken, but by prejudging the salvation of them that dye as soone as borne, that dye before yeares of ability to make profession of the faith of Christ Jesus. But as the Apostle pressing the dangerous and odious consequences that follow upon the deniall of the *resurrection of Christ* (which was his *Medium* to assert the *Resurrection of the dead*) takes off all with this affirmation *that Christ is risen from the dead*; So we pressing the danger of denyall Infants part and portion in Christ, (our *Medium to prove their interest in baptisme*) may take off all with the like affirmation, That *Infants have their portion in Christ*. Infancy excludes not from their right to him and interest in him, so that we need to run neither of these straits, to exempt them from *pollution*, or exclude them from *salvation*: which easily may be made good: They are accepted and highly honoured of God, as we see in the text recited, and further in our Saviours words, *Mat.*18.5,6. But it is *in the beloved, in Christ, that we are accepted*: The voice from Heaven witnesseth that *in him God is well pleased*: Deny infants *Christ*, and *God* is alike pleased with them as with the *brood of Cockatrices, and the seed of Serpents*. Much sure is in those words of our Saviour Christ, *Who so shall receive one such little child in my name, receives me*: How doe we receive Christ in receiving them, if they belong not to Christ, if they be not members of, if they have no interest in Christ: For such as say that they would baptize an infant, if any could make it good that he were in Christ Jesus, they might as well say in the same manner to Christ, that they would receive that little one, or such a little one, in case it could be made good that they were of his members, and elect ones.

1 *Cor.*15.20.

*Ephes.*5.1,6. *Mat.*3.17.

*Mat.*18.5.

Object. Nor let it be objected; That *Infants* then are not to be denied the *Lords Supper*, but are to be received to his *table*, seeing *Christ* is the *thing signified* in that Sacrament, as in *Baptisme*.

Answ. The difference (as all may see) is wide: In this Sacrament Infants are passive, and so capeable of this honour, to be taken in; In the other we are active, and Infants for that reason are incapeable: They are not in capacity to performe so much as that which is *outwardly sacramentall*: They cannot, according to the Institution *take and eat*, much lesse can they *doe it in remembrance of Christ*: The very phrase (*circumcised, baptised*) is enough to difference from eating with bitter herbes, &c. as at the Passeover, from communicating as at the Lords table, Infants are fit subjects for the one, men of growth are only fit subjects for the other: One to presse on this objection furnisheth us with a similitude, *Suppose* (saith he) *a King for some speciall service wherein the honour of himselfe and safety of his kingdome is much concerned, should by Commission ordaine or command a Sheriffe upon paine of death, to raise*

raiſe for his ſervice ten thouſand men, the moſt able in his County; and this Sheriffe, finding the ſaid number of children about ſix moneths old, ſhould preſent them to the King at the very inſtant of battaile, as though he had thereby performed the Kings command: Would this be taken for a ſufficient performance of his duty?

But ſuppoſe that the *King* ſhould appoint all his *free-borne ſubjects* to be *inrolled*, and a *liſt* taken of their *Names*, who in time might *act* in their places for his honour, and enjoy *Immunities as his ſubjects*, might not Infants then goe in the number? So it is here, *Baptiſme* is the initiating ordinance, The ſubjects of Heaven are here inrolled, their names may therefore be taken as *ſubjects*, though they cannot yet act as *ſouldiers*: They are here intitled to all the Immunities of this kingdome, yet orderly as they ſhall be of capacity and fitneſſe to make uſe of them.

But their want of *faith* is challenged as an impediment to *Baptiſme*: When the *Eunuch* deſired *Baptiſme*, we know the anſwer that he had: *If thou beleeveſt with all thine heart thou maiſt*: And *Calviniſts* denying actuall faith to be found in Infants, their Adverſaries the *Lutherans* come in with their argument *ad hominem*, making againſt us (ſay they) though not againſt the thing it ſelfe: Every Sacrament without faith in him that uſes it is a vaine Ceremony; But the Baptiſme of Infants is a Sacrament without the faith of him that uſeth it. Object.

A ſpeech directed to a man of yeares and without any title to the Covenant (other then his actuall faith did confer upon him) is ill applyed to Infants within Covenant that otherwiſe have title to it. Anſw. 1.

This exception carries equall ſtrength againſt Infants circumciſion: There is no more faith in the *Infants of Iewes* then there is in the *Infants of Chriſtians*; And faith is no leſſe neceſſary in the *circumciſed* then in the *baptized*: There was an equall neceſſity of the ingrediency of faith in every one in that age, as in this, yea in the ages more ancient then that of circumciſion, as appeares by the Apoſtles argument, *Heb.* 11. 6. 2.

Their capacity to receive the *ſigne*, anſwers their capacity to receive the *thing ſignified*, they are *paſſive* in the receiving of Chriſt and any intereſt in him: and ſo alſo they are, (and circumciſed Infants were) in taking the ſigne. And ſo the *Lutheran propoſition* being underſtood of any thing wherein we are active is a truth, but applied to Infants uncapable of action in the Sacrament where they are only paſſive, it is to be denied.

If Infants have the *like gift* intitling to, and intereſting in the priviledge of baptiſme with *beleevers*, then they *withſtand God* who deny their baptiſme: This is the Apoſtles argument brought for his own defence, which I wiſh were more ſeriouſly conſidered: And let it not be objected that the *gift* there ſpecified is a *gift extraordinary*, peculiar to thoſe times: It is enough to make the argument of force, that it is alike in them with that which now intitles growne beleevers: Now the want of thoſe gifts extraordinary, doth not diſable grown beleevers: The want of theſe doth not then diſable Infants. *Acts* 11. 17.

And that they have the *like gift*, intitling to, and intereſting in the Sacra-

ment of baptisme is plaine: *A Covenant-holinesse unquestionable: Inherent qualitative holinesse hopefull*, is a like gift to that which growne beleevers are able to produce: But *Infants* have *Covenant-holinesse unquestionable, inherent qualitative holinesse hopefull*; A beleever by the profession of his faith is able to make good his title to the outward Covenant, and so can the beleeving parent the title of his Infant: A beleever can make good such a title to the inward Covenant, that none can say *thou hast no part or portion in this thing*: And because it cannot be denied (though absolutely and infallibly it be not affirmed) it is to be presumed: This a beleeving parent can make good in the behalfe of his Infant, and this is sufficient, this is a like.

Object. But it will yet be said, An *institution* is wanting, we have no *precept*, we have no *president* of the baptizing of Infants: The institution is, *Mar.* 28.19. *Goe teach all nations, baptizing them, &c.* We must baptize those whom by *teaching* we have *discipled* to the word signifieth.

I answer, First, That which hath beene said doth conclude that they are within the verge of an institution, being such that have so full title: I have heard one of the most learned and reverend that ever I knew or heard of that was of that way more then once professe with no small solemnity, that *if he knew an Infant to be sanctified as he acknowledged* John Baptist *was, such a one he would baptize*: And that *the particular infants whom Christ was sent for to blesse might have beene baptized*: Those then that are thus intitled, through want of an institution are not to be excluded, and how farre and fully Infants of beleeving parents are intitled we have heard.

2. The place quoted hath not in it the *Institution* of that Sacrament: *Baptisme* was appointed of *God* before those words were uttered; He that spoke them was *himselfe before baptized*; They to whom they were spoken had *baptized others*; It is only an enlargement of their Commission for the exercise of their Ministery, being before confined unto one Nation, now it is enlarged to all Nations; *Mat* 3.1 6. *Joh* 4.6. *Mat.* 10.5.

3. The words there comprize infants, they are no more excluded then men of yeares, serving to make up a Nation as well as parents: The Infants of *Nineveh* did make a considerable party of the City of *Nineveh*; The Infants of any Nation make up a part of the Nation; and the Nation where they came was to be discipled, And that Infants are here comprehended further appeares by this argument.

* In the same sense and latitude as *Nation* was taken in respect of the Covenant of God, when *the Covenant, and Covenant-initiating-Sacrament* was restrained to that one only Nation, where their Commission was first limited: In the same sense it is to be taken (unlesse the text expresse the contrary) now the Commission is enlarged.

This cannot be denied of any that will have the Apostles to be able to know Christs meaning by his words in this enlarged Commission.

But *Nation*, then as is confessed did comprehend all in the *Nation* in respect of the Covenant, and nothing is expressed in the text to the contrary, therefore it is to be taken in that latitude, to comprehend Infants.

Will it be said that an exception of Infants is implied, in that all of the *Nation*.

* This argument hath strength from that of the Apostle, *Act.* 1.25. As it was with the kindred of *Abraham* in respect of covenant holinesse, so it is with all kindreds of the earth, they jointly make one party in the Covenant: But infants of *Abrahams* kindred were in the Covenant, and of the nation in respect of Covenant-holinesse. *Ergo*, &c. *Object.*

Nation muſt be diſciples before they be baptized, but *Infants* are not capable of being diſciples, and ſo they are made uncapable of Baptiſme.

I anſwer, 1. Here is rather implyed that they are of capacitie to be Diſciples, in that Chriſt ſends *to diſciple Nations*, and they ſerve to make up the *nation*. Anſw. 1.

2. It is the way of the Scripture, ſpeaking of an univerſality of a people in a land, expreſſely to except infants, in caſe they be to be excepted: As we ſee in the judgement that befell Iſrael in the wilderneſſe *to the cutting off* of thoſe that came out of the land of Egypt. And in the Covenant entred by the body of the *Nation of all degrees and ſexes* at their returne from Babylon, and an exception could be no where more uſefull and neceſſary then here, to let us know that it is otherwiſe with Gentiles in this particular then it was with the Iewes, that the Nations where their Commiſſion is thus enlarged were herein differenced from the Nation to which their Miniſterie was firſt limitted. 2. *Numb.* 14.38. *Nehem.* 10.28.

3. Let that text of the Prophet be well weighed, where ſpeaking by the ſpirit of prophecy of the rejection of the Jewes, and the glorious call of the Gentiles in their ſtead, in that ample way as it is there ſet out both theſe words, *Behold, I will lift up mine hand to the Gentiles, and ſet up my ſtandard to the people: and they ſhall bring thy ſonnes in their armes: and thy daughters ſhall be carried upon their ſhoulders.* If there were but ſuch an hint as that by way of propheſy to have left them behind, we ſhould from ſome have heard of it with a noiſe. *Iſai.* 49.22.

4. In the Lord *Chriſts Dialect*, who is beſt able to expreſſe his own meaning, they are *Diſciples*, To *belong to Chriſt* is to be a *Diſciple of Chriſt*, This is plaine from our Saviours owne mouth, comparing his words recorded in *Matthew* and *Mark*, *To give a cup of cold water to drink in the name of a diſciple*, it is in the one; *To give a cup of water to drink in my Name, becauſe ye belong to me*, it is in the other: To *belong to Chriſt*, to be *a Diſciple of Chriſt*, and to beare *the Name of Chriſt* is one and the ſame thing with our Saviour. Now that Infants are of the number of thoſe who as *Diſciples* in Chriſts account doe *belong unto him*, and beare *his Name*, is yet further plain by another text of St *Matthew*, where Chriſt ſetting a *little childe* in the middeſt of his hearers ſaith, *Who ſo ſhall receive one ſuch little child in my Name, receiveth me.* By all which it appeares, that which is done to *Infants* is done to *Diſciples*, hath a glorious *reward* as done to *Diſciples*; *Infants* therfore *are Diſciples of Chriſt, are of thoſe that doe belong unto him*, and beare *his Name*: who then is not afraid to *refuſe* them who will *receive* Chriſt? who will not baptize them that is willing to baptize Diſciples in the Name of Chriſt? *Matth.* 10.42. *Mar.* 9.41. *Matth.* 18.5.

For *Examples*, which they ſay we want of the Baptiſme of Infants:

1. I anſwere, firſt, we value by *Rule* rather then *Preſident*, the Rule hath been examined.

2. Examples are often very rare, where the rule is unqueſtionable, and undeniable, we have no Example of any triall of the *ſuſpected wife* by the *water of jealouſie*; For *womens right to the Lords Supper* we have no particular *inſtitution*,

ſtitution; no particular *Preſident* more then for this of Infants Baptiſme.

3. We have Examples not to be contemned of the *Baptiſme* of whole *houſholds*, and whether *Infants* were there or no, as it is not certaine (though probable) ſo it is not materiall: The *Preſident* is an *Houſhold*, he that followes the *Preſident* muſt baptize *houſholds*. It appeares not that any wife was there, yet he that followes the Preſident in baptizing of houſholds, muſt baptize wives, and ſo (I may ſay) ſervants, if they be of the houſhold.

Object. Objections are yet brought from humane authoritie, which I have reſerved to the laſt, as accounting them the leaſt: And if this diſpute might this way be determined, that plurality of votes might carry it: the adverſaries know how it would fare with them in it.

Anſw. *Origen* is vouched calling *it a ceremonie or tradition of the Church: Hom. 8. in Levit.* in Epiſt. ad *Rom. lib. 5. Gregorie* alſo *in decret. diſtinct. de conſe*

One of thoſe *traditions* which the *Apoſtle* charged the *Theſſalonians to keep*, 2 *Theſſ.* 2.15. which I ſpeake not by gueſſe, but we have it in the ſame Epiſtle (*cap.* 6.) from his own mouth, *The Church* (ſaith he) *received Baptiſme of Infants from the Apoſtles:* The greateſt points of Faith (as is well known) are ordinarily called by the name of traditions by the Antients. Traditions being onely ſuch things that are delivered from one to another, they are as well written as unwritten; And we have cauſe willingly to embrace this teſtimonie, *Origen* lived 226. yeares after Chriſt, in the beginning of the *Alſted. Chronol.* *third Century*, he calls it a *tradition* of the Church, it was therefore delivered over to the Church in his time, and of antient uſe before him.

Auſtin cals it a *cuſtome of the Church: de Baptiſ. contra Donat. lib. 4. cap. 23.* *Anſw.* And ſo doe I alſo call it, and the obſerving of the firſt day of the weeke, the impoſition of hands on Church-officers, the giving of the Lords Supper to men of growth is a cuſtome of the Church likewiſe.

Eraſmus ſaith *they are not to be condemned that doubt whether the Baptiſme of Infants were ordained by the Apoſtles: Lib. 4 de ratione Concio.*

Anſw. His words evidently imply that it was their errour, and it ſeemes his thoughts were other of thoſe who openly did oppoſe it, and refuſe it.

Papiſts openly profeſſe that the Baptiſme of Infants is grounded upon tradition, and not upon Scripture: for which *Eckius* and *Bellarmine* are brought in.

Anſw. This they doe not really and cordially but for their owne advantage, to make good unwritten traditions againſt Proteſtant adverſaries; They know that we maintaine Baptiſme of Infants, and diſclaime theſe traditions, and if Baptiſme of infants doe appeare to be one, then they have us building what we have deſtroyed. *Bellar.* indeed (in his book *de Verbo Dei*) ſtanding for unwritten tradations as a part of the Word of God will have Baptiſme of infants to be one, but when he diſputes for Baptiſme of Infants againſt Anabaptiſts, then he can heape up texts of Scripture, *de ſacra Baptiſ. cap.* 8. So alſo *cap.* 9. in the entrance of it, *Satis apertè colligitur ex Scripturis*, the Baptiſme of Infants is evidently enough gathered from Scriptures: The like fetch of his I could ſhew in other particulars.

It appeares to be forced on the people by authority of Councels, out of the Councell of *Mileuitanum*, this Canon is urged, *It is alſo our will that thoſe that*

that will not that children be baptized that are new borne from their mothers wombe, be excommunicate.

So in the *Nicene Councell* it was decreed that we ſhould beleeve that there is one God Maker of all things viſible and inviſible; The greateſt points of faith (we know) under *Anathema's* are decreed in Councels. This Councell was in the fifth Century, 200 yeares after *Origen*, who ſtiles Baptiſme of Infants (as we have heard) a tradition of the Church in his dayes. And *Auſtin* who was not onely preſent, but (as is ſaid) Preſident of that Councell, returning anſwer to thoſe that deſire divine authority for the Baptiſme of Infants, for ſatisfaction firſt produceth that rule, *Quod univerſa tenet Eccleſia, nec Conciliis inſtitutum, ſed ſemper retentum eſt, non niſi authoritate Apoſtolica traditum, rectiſſimè creditur. That which the whole Church holds, and was not ordained by any Councels, but hath ever been held, that is rightly beleeved to be by Apoſtolicall authoritie.* This he takes to be ſufficient, yet for more full ſatisfaction, he goes on to diſpute for it from the Scriptures, whence we ſee what himſelfe meanes by the cuſtome of the Church; And by what authoritie that Councell did appoint the Baptiſme of Infants. *Auguſtinus de Bapt. contra Donatiſt. lib. 4o. cap. 24. ad initium.* *Anſw.*

By all this that hath been ſaid it more fully appeares what regard is to be given to that which is cited out of *Luther* and *Caſſander*, concerning the time that Baptiſme of Infants was brought into the Church: *Luther* (as it is ſaid) affirmes that it came into the Church a thouſand yeares before his time, which muſt be one hundred yeares after *Auſtin*, and three hundred yeares after *Origen*. *Caſſander* affirmes that it was brought in three hundred yeares after Chriſt and his Apoſtles, which muſt be an hundred yeares after *Origen* at leaſt. If this had been true, theſe fathers muſt have ſaid as St *Paul* of contentions, *We have no ſuch cuſtome, neither the Church of God*, and could not have ſaid that it was a cuſtome or tradition of the Church, *Origen* then had never knowne it, and *Auſtin* might have called it an innovation. 1 Cor. 11. 16.

Thoſe conjectures of *Tuicencis* & *Iohannes Bohemius* concerning the occaſion of the firſt in-let of Infants Baptiſme into the Church fals to the ground likewiſe, when men heare of a beginning they will be bold to aſſigne ſome reaſon of it, If my conjecture may be heeded, I ſuppoſe it was in ſome diſ-uſe with many not long after the Apoſtles times, and that by reaſon of the ſuperſtitious conceit that too ſoon prevailed of the *opus operatum* in Baptiſme, that it cleanſes all ſinnes that are paſt whether originall or actuall. And therefore many that were converted at ripe yeares deferred their Baptiſme as neere the houre of death as might be, to have all their ſinnes cleanſed by that water, againſt which cuſtome *Bellarmine* at large diſputes by reaſon of the abſolute neceſſity of Baptiſme, though both his grounds and theirs are on a falſe bottome: May we not then beleeve that parents upon the ſame ground did put off the Baptiſme of their children, and after did re-aſſume it upon the neceſſity of it, And this is that which the authour produced, viz. *Iohannes Bohemius* ſpeaks of.

But Mr *Daniel Rogers* above all is ſtood upon, in his Treatiſe of the Sacraments he hath theſe words, *I take the Baptiſme of Infants to be one of the moſt reverend,*

reverend, generall, and uncontrolled traditions which the Church hath, and which I would no leſſe doubt of then the Creed to be Apoſtolicall, although I confeſſe my ſelfe yet unconvinced by demonſtration of Scripture for it.

Anſw. I wiſh the Reader to conſider what the adverſary gaines by this teſtimony, It is *generall uncontrolled*, he ſaith, and ſo he knowes unwritten traditions never were, Orthodox Divines antient and moderne have ever oppoſed them; In gaining a peice of a witneſſe ſuch an one that hath his reaſons to beleeve Baptiſme of Infants to be Apoſtolicall, they have the Church unanimouſly in all ſucceſſive ages their adverſarie.

The conſectarie enlarged. And as the *Infants* of beleeving parents are to be received to Baptiſme; ſo no *Infants* that deſcend from thoſe that make Profeſſion of the faith of Chriſt are to be *refuſed*: Any ſolid reaſon which will lye againſt any (for ought can be ſaid) may be a ground of the challenge of all: The promiſe made to thoſe that profeſſe Chriſt and their ſeed, takes in the ſeed of all that make profeſſion. Some that doe not withſtand, but maintaine and practiſe the Baptiſme of Infants have found a middle way, as betweene rigid *Browniſts* and *Presbyterians*, ſo between *Anabaptiſts* and (as I may ſay) *Pedo-baptiſts*; All Infants they will not have to be refuſed, confeſſing them to be within the verge of the promiſe, yet they will not have all promiſcuouſly received: The *parents* by ſolemne Covenant muſt firſt be made members of ſome particular congregation, and ſo their *Iſſue* is to be admitted, their children baptized, otherwiſe both parents and children are to be accounted as *without*, by *nature unholy*; and only the *Godly regenerate* (ſo farre as men can judge) no one of looſe life to be admitted.

But this middle way (under correction) I cannot but take to be a ſtep out of the way, I will here diſpute it no further then as it concernes this particular.

Either the *vicious and ſcandalous life* of ſuch a parent, or *his non admiſſion into Covenant in a Congregationall way* is the barre of the Infant that he is not admitted unto Baptiſme, but neither of theſe may be a barre.

Firſt not the vicious life of his parent.

If the ground of a childs admiſſion to baptiſme be not the faith of his *immediate parent*, but the promiſe made to Anceſtors in the faith, whoſe ſeed he is though at the *greater diſtance*; Then the looſe life of an immediate parent can be no barre to his baptiſme: This is plaine, if *Joſiah* have no right from his father *Amnon*, yet he is not to be ſhut out, in caſe he have right from his father *David* or his father *Abraham*: And though the immediate parent were not wronged when his child is ſo ſhut out and denied, yet ſuch Anceſtor in diſtance is wronged out of whoſe loynes the Infant is deſcended: If *Phinehas* were not wronged in caſe *Ichabod* had been debarred, yet *Eli* yet *Aaron* had ſuffered. But the ground of a childs admiſſion is the promiſe to Anceſtors, whether at neerer or greater diſtance, The promiſe is to beleevers and their ſeed: Now *Joſiah* was the ſeed of *David*, Chriſt was the ſeed of *David*: An Anceſtor at diſtance, and not alone immediate (where the race within the Church, may be derived in a continued ſucceſſion) gives right of admiſſion therefore unto baptiſme;

2. There

1. There is nothing that can exclude the ſeed of him that is a beleever, as beleever is oppoſed to an Infidell, the ſeed of one that is of a dogmaticall or hiſtoricall faith: This we have before made good, and from 1 *Cor.*7.14. may be further cleared, He that is no Infidell is there a beleever whoſe ſeed is holy. But a man of a vicious life is in that ſenſe a beleever, *Simon Magus, the hearers compared to the rocky ground were beleevers*, therefore a looſe life will not exclude the Iſſue. *Acts* 8.13. *Luk.*8.13.

His ſeed who is a member of a particular *Church ſociety* muſt be admitted unto baptiſme, *a Church member* and all that are his muſt have their priviledges: But it often falls out that men of looſe lives are members as the Church of *Corinth* yeelds many prooſes, Therefore vicious life excludes not the Iſſue. 2 *Cor* 12.20, 21, *&c.*

Secondly, The non-admiſſion into Covenant is no barre in the parent.

1. It was no barre when themſelves who now are members were admitted in their infancy, their parents for the moſt part being no members in ſuch a way: Therefore now it is no barre though the parent be no member, but out of ſuch Church-Covenant.

2. They who have *themſelves* title to baptiſme, they have power to intitle their *Infants* likewiſe, this can be denied by none that deny not Infants baptiſme; But men never entring any ſuch *Church-Covenant in a Congregationall* way were baptized upon juſt title; The *Converts of Peter*, the *Eunuch*, the *Iaylor*, *&c.* No one that we reade was firſt made a member and then baptized, but were by Baptiſme made members, not reſpectively of any one particular Congregation, but of the Church of Chriſt in generall.

3. It would then be in the power of man, of three or foure (whom they ſay make a bottome Church) to keep an Infant at their pleaſure out of Gods Covenant, to be reputed at their courteſie, either of the *dogs* or of the *children*. This may not be denied, Theſe or the greater number of them have power of admiſſion of members at pleaſure. And ſome ſingularly eminent that way have affirmed that it is not enough that a man have *grace* to render him capable of being admitted, but he muſt have *expreſſions*: A fathers ſlow tongue ſhall now exclude his ſeed from this glory of admittance into the fellowſhip of the Saints. And when thoſe are not judged worthy of fellowſhip who are not of abilities to ſit in judgement with the Congregation to admit members, to paſſe ſentence upon delinquents, to judge of doctrines, not only to elect but ordaine Paſtors and Church-officers, we may eaſily gueſſe how many they exclude as without, whom Chriſt receives: Such a way had it been taken had deprived the Church of an *Hezekiah*, *Joſiah* and many others in their age renowned. How great a provocation to ſuch children when once of growth to joyne with them, with whom the Church rankes them? and to oppoſe with the uttermoſt of fury ſuch that (after the revolution of ſo many generations inheriting that priviledge) now doe debarre them? And how great an incouragement to joyne with ſuch in all holineſſe with whom they were honoured with theſe priviledges?

Some there be that ſubſcribe theſe truths yet will have ſome caution uſed: The children of parents of *looſe life*, yea of *excommunicate perſons*, *children of illegitimate*

illegitimate birth they say are to be baptised; but with condition that the education of such be undertaken by men pious and godly, two reasons one gives.

1. *Distinctio aliqua inter puros & impuros debet in sacris omnibus observari, ad bonorum consolationem, correctionem malorum, & omnium edificationem*, that is, Some difference ought to be put in all divine ordinances between the cleane and uncleane, for the comfort of the godly, the censure of the wicked, and the edification of all.

To which I answer, The personall impurity of the father is not transmitted to the child, and therefore the distinction of clean and uncleane, which holds betweene the parents, fals to the ground when it is applied to the Issue; Both of them have a *Covenant-holinesse* from their parents, neither of both have *holinesse qualitative* and inherent, and the children standing equally interested in the promises, we have no rule that the child should beare the father's sin.

2. *Instituta Dei non possunt aliter ab omni pollutione conservari*, The ordinances of God can no other way be kept from blot and pollution.

I answer, Our care in the preservation of any ordinance of God may not exceed the care of God himselfe, least under that colour we make *our wisdome* to correct *Gods wisdome*, and when he admits without such limits; why should we then put barres? A raile about the Communion table for that which is taken away, one hath well motioned, such a one that would not nourish *superstition* but keepe back the *prophane*: But I know not any use of such a one about the Font-stone in a Nation professedly Christian, and enjoying ordinances that are saving, where Infants (for ought that the Church is able to discerne) are all equall: all equally holy, all equally impure: *Christians in name* transmit a Covenant-holinesse; *Christians in truth* cannot transmit holinesse inherent: If these thus borne have no right at all, I suppose they should not be admitted with any caution whatsoever. If they have any such birthright-priviledge (notwithstanding their sad discomfort in such parents) why should it be thus suspended on the curtesie of such undertakers; I would more care were taken for education of youth (of which more anon) but this I only say, that I see not how the Infants right should be deteyned, their birth-priviledge denied, till such caution be given: I conclude then that right of baptisme is as large as in any good sense the name Christian, The right of Infants is as large as is the name of Christian in the parents.

A vaine dispute there hath been among Schoolemen, how the child is saved or justified by the faith of the parent; whether by the *habit* of the parents faith, or the *act* of beleeving applied by the parent to the Infant at the time, and in the instant of baptisme? And whether it must be a *faith formed* (as they speake) *with charity*, or whether a *faith informed*, *a dead faith* would serve to the justification and salvation of the seed? whether a parent in mortall sinne may apply faith to his child to salvation? And I would know whether there be not some such thing now agitated, when such enquiry is made into the personall qualification of the parent before the child may have admittance.

admittance. But all theſe are meere niceties: The faith of the parent availes not directly to juſtification or ſalvation of the Infant, neither is it conſidered as applied to this or that child in baptiſme; the parent may be dead before the child be baptized; But it is conſidered only as accepting the Covenant of Gods free grant for him and his poſterity, which entitles poſterity to ſaving ordinances, but doth not neceſſarily qualifie for ſalvation. A ſubject accepts a *Patent of honour* from his Prince for himſelfe and poſterity, this *Grant of the Prince*, and *acceptance* in the ſubject entitles to Nobility, And the like we ſay of Chriſtianity; which evident truth takes off all difficulties, and prevents all abſurdities which follow upon theſe Quæres:

It yet further here followes that *the ſeed of beleevers* thus by birth-right-priviledge *baptized*, have a large and full right to all the *Ordinances of God and priviledges of the Church* appertaining to members, as they ſhall be capable of their uſe, whereſoever by the providence of God they are caſt; only ſo farre excepted as the juſt cenſures of the Church upon their *perſonall defects and miſdemeanours* ſhall diſable them, and give Church-officers juſt cauſe to refuſe them: The conſequence is evident: They now viſibly belong to Chriſt, they through him are dedicated to God, they have therefore title to all his viſible ordinances: They are now of the *houſehold of God*, and of the *Citizens of the Saints* orderly admitted: Scripture knowes no other admiſſion then Baptiſme: No ſooner doe we heare of a convert, but we preſently heare of his baptiſme, no Church-covenant intervening: They have right to all the immunities of this *houſe*, to all the priviledges of this *city of God*: There is ſome time after baptiſme in infancy before they have capacity to be *hearers*, but as ſoone as they can heare to profit ſo ſoone they muſt be received, not as *ſtrangers* but as *children*, not as *Infidels* but *Chriſtians*: They muſt be hearers, and that with ſome good proficiency before they can be *communicants*: But to deny a perſon entitled and qualified as before, becauſe not in Church-fellowſhip in a Congregationall way, offering himſelfe and deſiring it, is to debarre him of that right, of which by the gracious diſpenſation of God he ſtands poſſeſſed: He belongs to *Chriſt*, he muſt therefore partake of that which *is of Chriſt*: He is of the houſhold, he muſt therefore have of *the foode of the houſhold*: *The ſtewards of the myſteries of God* muſt be accountable in caſe they doe deny it. 2. Conſectary, Title to all Ordinances.

To come to ſome practique obſervations, All poſſible engagements and obligations unto *holineſſe of converſation* neceſſarily follow from this royall priviledge and high advancement of *birth-holineſſe*. We blame thoſe of *noble and generous* birth that betake themſelves to *ſordid and ignoble wayes*: Thoſe thus degenerating are a blot to their families, a diſgrace and reproach to their race: No birth equall in honour to that of Chriſtians: *Theodoſius* worthily eſteemed it a greater honour that he was a *Chriſtian* then that he was an *Emperour*: None degenerate ſo foulely and blame-worthily as they when their converſation is *unchriſtian*. Wayes of ſinne are for *ſinners of the Gentiles*, a way proper for *Turkes and Pagans*: let the *holy ſeed* be *holy*, their *demeanour* ſuited to their *honour*: *Sardanapalus* the King may with leſſe infamy *ſpinne among women* (a worke farre below his throne) then a Chriſtian 3. Conſectary, Holy converſation.

stian may *sinne with heathen:* The *Martyrs* in the primitive times being moved to sweare by *the fortune of Cæsar*, thought that the answer was full and faire to say they were *Christians*; Such answer should he have that would tempt to ungodlinesse: *Should such a one as I flie* saith *Nehemiah*, his honour would not suffer him to be so base: Should such a man as a Christian (the least of whom is greater then *Nehemiah's* better) be for sinne, *not a sinner by birth*, be for *sinne in his life? Baptisme* is the greatest *honour:* Such beare Christs name and weare his livery, They have that title in which *Iude, Iames* and other of the Apostles gloried; *A Servant of Iesus Christ: Baptisme* is the greatest *engagement: Let every one that nameth Christ depart from iniquity.* To talke of baptisme and live in sin is to weare the *Colours* of one *and plot and fight* for another, to weare *Christs* colours and fight for *Satan: Baptisme* renders a sinner up to the heaviest *punishment:* The high favours shewed the Jewes made a Jew to fare worse in the wayes of sinne then an heathen: The high favours shewed to *Christians*, make *Christians* to fare worse in sinfull wayes then *heathens:* Let me presse it in the Apostles words though the providence of God keeps me out of his condition, *I therefore the prisoner of the Lord beseech you, that ye walke worthy of the vocation wherewith ye are called.* All in a Christians calling bespeakes this holinesse; *Hee by whom* he is called; *The worke to which* he is called; *The company* unto which he is joyned; *The Attendants* by whom he is guarded; *The Rule* wherby he is guided; *The Seale* by which he is confirmed, and the *place* whither he makes and tends, all are *holy*.

Nehe.6.11.
Mat.11.11.
Iames 1.1.
Iude v.1.
1 Pet.1.1.
1 Tim.2.19.
Amos 3.2.
Heb.2.3.
Ephes.4.1.
1 Pet.1.15.
1 Thes.4.7.
Ephes.2.19.
Mat.25.31.
Rom.1.2.
Ephes.1.13.
Heb.9.8.

4. Consectary, Holy education.

Let the Parents of such seed now see what *education* is expected; *Breeding* must answer *Birth and Descent:* A Christian is of the noblest birth: The Apostle calls upon parents *to bring up their children in nurture and admonition of the Lord:* God may call on them thus to bring up *his children*; In nature *theirs:* in Covenant *Gods:* Every Christian parent hath a child of God committed to his care and tuition: How great a solecisme is it that parents should dedicate children so soone as borne unto *Christ*, professing to the world that they belong to him, and that with *Hannah* (concerning *Samuel*) they intend them for him, when nothing appeares in their lives, but that they might be given to *Moloch*; somewhat worse then the mongrell seed that spoke halfe in the language of *Canaan*, and halfe of *Ashdod:* Scarce a word can be heard out of their mouthes for to argue that they are Christians; *lisping out oathes* as soone as *words*, put to *learne trades*, and little regard had that they may *know Christ Iesus:* And how much is it to be desired that authority (who I trust will make good that we have a *Christian Nation*) would take order for more carefull catechisticall teaching of youth in the wayes of *Christian Religion*, that God may not complaine of *England* as of Israel; *My people perish for want of knowledge.* A people of God and a people ignorant to perdition and destruction: *England* is highly *honoured of God* by this gracious call, with *Capernaum lifted up to Heaven: England* would highly *honour God* if care might be taken that all might *know God* from the highest to the lowest: We shall never be a *Gospel-like people* till we be a *knowing people*, till we take care that as we are *Iewes by nature*, so we may be *Iewes in qualification*,

Hosea 4.7.

so

ſo *borne*, ſo *bred*, that as our youth is *deſcended* ſo alſo they may be *trained*.

Thoſe may ſee whom they oppoſe that ſtand in oppoſition of a people thus intereſted, a people ſo ingratiated to God in Covenant that there is not the leaſt infant in whom God hath not his title and right of challenge. The aggravation of the Pſalmiſts complaint is, that the *heathens* are come into thine inheritance, the dead bodies of thy *ſervants* have they given to be meat unto the fowles of the Heaven, the fleſh of thy *Saints* unto the beaſts of the earth: The whole body of ſuch a people ſtand in relation to God, as the *Inheritance*, the *ſervants*, and *Saints* of God; Such inſcriptions we find in St *Pauls* Epiſtles, not one of the whole body is excluded, but they are ſuch by *Covenant*, and ſuch by *calling*: Enough hath been ſaid to make it to appeare, that the denomination reaches even infants, *who are the Lords heritage, and Chriſts name is upon them*: As it is accounted an happy work to daſh the *little ones of Babylon againſt the wall*, becauſe of the hoſtility of that *Nation* againſt God and his people: So it is a like execration to intermeddle with the little ones of *Sion*, by reaſon of the holineſſe of ſuch a people, their Covenant-relations in which they ſtand intereſted. Much is ſpoken in Scripture againſt the enemies of the righteous, *the haters of them ſhall be deſtroyed, be that offends againſt them ſhall not be innocent*: God obſerves every cariage of the adverſary towards them in miſery; they ſpeake not a word, but God hath it againſt them; when *Ammonites*, *Tyrians* cry *Aha* againſt the people of the Lord they are *twitted* with it, and threatned for it. Not a *proud word* that they utter, but it is brought in to fill up the charge againſt them: yea, every *eye* that is caſt with approbation of the adverſary, every *encouraging word* they ſpeake, and every *act* they doe againſt ſuch a people, yea *injuries* of elder times are kept in the decke and laid to them; And all becauſe that they ſtand in this relation to God, as *His* in Covenant, which you cannot limit onely to the *perſonally righteous*, but all that are of a *ſocietie and fellowſhip* that is ſuch, that are intereſted in a *righteous cauſe*. The *holy anointing oyle* did make *ſacred*, when yet too often the man was wicked, and therefore *David* looked upon *Saul* as the Lords anointed. It holds in analogy and proportion unto all that have any Unction from God, as all the called of God have, *When they were but a few in number, yea very few, and ſtrangers---When they went from one Nation to another, from one kingdome to another people, He ſuffered no man to doe them wrong, yea he reproved Kings for their ſakes*, ſaying, *Touch not mine Anointed*: All the people of God have that anointing from God, that none may dare to intermeddle to their harme. God promiſes his people that dwell in Sion that the burden of Aſſyria ſhall be taken away from off their ſhoulder, and his yoke from off their necke, and that the yoke ſhall be deſtroyed, *becauſe of the Anoiating*.

5. Conſectary, The danger of perſecution. *Pſal.* 79. 1, 2, 3. *Pſal.* 127 3. *Mat.* 18. 5. *Pſal.* 137. 9. 2 *King* 8. 12. *Eze.* 26. 2. 36. 2. *Obad.* 12. Ibid. *Pſal.* 137. 7. *Obad.* 13. 14. *Deut.* 24. 17. *Pſal.* 105. 12, 13, 14, 15. *Iſa* 10. 27.

Some will ſay, as this is carried, The danger of intermedling with any is with us alike: Even Papiſts and the worſt of men that are called Proteſtants are thus of a people that are called Gods people, and go by the name of Chriſtians. Object.

For anſwer: I ſhall not enter upon that controverſie, what there is of the *being of a Church* under the Papacy: The *Papacy* it ſelfe is none of it, but on- Anſw.

ly a *botch* bred in it, and cleaving to it. Onely this I say, That he that shall oppose a *Papist* under the notion of a *Christian*, shall beare his sinne, and that upon the grounds that have been given: Though a Papists damnable errours in the faith shut him out from the happinesse of Christians, yet such an adversaries persecution renders him guilty of opposing the faith of Christ Iesus; And he that followes with injuries a carnall Protestant, because of Profession of the *sincerittie of Religion*, in opposition to *Antichristianisme*, is formally guilty of persecution. The hearers resembled to the *rocky ground suffer persecution for the Word*, as doth the good ground that *brings forth fruit with patience*. But to come home with more cleare satisfaction.

A people of a *foully-polluted Ordinance* standing in opposition to a people of a *pure and untainted way*, are as a people void of Ordinances, are as a people without God in comparison. The opposition of the puritie of his service God accounts as the opposition of his great *Name*, though it be by a people that goe under that name of His people: And therefore though *Elijah* take
1 *Kings* 19.10. so much to heart the pulling down of *Altars* set up by *Ieroboam* as *Gods Altars*, when it was done by Israel apostatizing and turned to *Baal*, and (in opposition to the worship of *Baal*) makes that way of worship at *Dan* and
1 *Kings* 18.21. *Bethel* a *following of God*. (Those *two opinions* that the ten Tribes *halted between* were the worship of the *false god Baal*, and the *false way of worship* set up by *Ieroboam*; which corruption of worship (being now to draw them from Baalisme) he is for the present contented to waive:) Yet we well know
2 *Kings* 15.9. the *brand* that lies on *Ieroboam* in bringing in that worship of his, scarce the like on any man in Scripture (the man of sin only excepted) the high phrases
2 *Chro.* 11.15. also in which this worship of his is set out, making *Priests for the high places, and devils*, with the height of guilt to which he rose in casting the *Levites* out *from executing the Priests office*; And howsoever God often calls
Vers. 14. *Hos.* 4.6. that people of the ten tribes by the name of *his people* as having Ordinances, though miserably polluted, yet in opposition to *Iudah*, where more pure Ordinances were injoyed, they are said to be *without God, without a teaching*
2 *Chron.* 15.3. *Priest, and without the Law*: And fighting against *Iudah* who could reckon up the particulars of the Ordinances of God in their puritie, they are charged
2 *Chron.* 13.12. *to fight against the Lord God of their fathers*: To come neerer home in an Instance: If the Turkish power should fall upon a *Popish State* under the name and notion of Christians, they were guilty with *Saul* of persecuting the *Lord Iesus*: If this Popish State fall upon a reformed nation, they are much more guilty. A fouler sinne for a people of God in *name and title*, to persecute his people in *truth*, then for a people strangers to God, to persecute a people only in name and title: Scripture prayers against heathens we may fitly apply in our sufferings under the hands of Papists. *Pilate* might have been guilty in persecution of a *Pharisee* as a Jew; yet that nation was much
Iob. 18.35. more guilty (being *Iewes by nature*,) in delivering *Christ Iesus* into *Pilats* hands, though Christ had been no greater then one of his Disciples: A *Papist* persecuting a *formall carnall Protestant*, under the notion of a man professing against idolatrous wayes, is a man blaspheming the faith; This man thus persecuted, persecuting another for the power of Godlinesse, professing the same

ſame truth is equally, yea more guilty. The very ſin of *Cain* againſt his brother, Their Religions were both one, but *Cain's* in form, and *Abel's* in power. 1 Ioh. 2. 12.
The reſult of the whole is to let us ſee what it is to oppoſe *a people* under any notion of *Gods people*, under any notion *of belonging to him*. A man may have his reward giving in *the name of a Diſciple*, though he to whom hee gives be ſuch as God will never own for a Diſciple. And anſwerably may incurre vengeance in oppoſition of one under ſuch a name, though with thoſe on the rocky ground he be nothing leſſe in deed and truth. Matth. 10. 4.

Abundance of ſweet conſolations yet flow from this birth-priviledge, and that in ſeverall ſtreames. 6. Conſectary of conſolation.

1. In regard of *Nations*.
2. In regard of *Perſons*.

1. In regard of *Nations*, They have a royall tranſcendencie above all others, as onely worthy the name of a people, Enjoying the *Light*, *Nigh unto God*, A people of *hope*, and *expectation*; when others are darkneſſe, without hope, and without God in the world. The *Pſalmiſt* reckons up many ſweet bleſſings of a nation, *That our ſonnes may be as plants growne up in their youth, that our daughters may be as corner ſtones poliſhed after the ſimilitude of a palace, That our garners may be full affording all manner of ſtore, that our ſheep may bring forth thouſands and ten thouſands in our ſtreets; That our oxen may be ſtrong to labour, that there be no breaking in, nor going out, that there be no complaining in our ſtreets*: All theſe are ſingular nationall favours, but only ſerving to make up, not an abſolute, but comparative bleſſednеſſe; This one riſes higher and makes it compleat, *Bleſſed are the people whoſe God is the Lord*. See what is ſaid of *Ieruſalem* by the Pſalmiſt: *Loe, the Kings were aſſembled, they paſſed by together, they ſaw it, and ſo they marvelled, they were troubled and haſted away, Feare tooke hold on them, and paine as on a woman in travell*, and we find the reaſon given is, *God is knowne in her palaces for a refuge*, they have *God nigh in all that they call upon him for*, as *Moſes* hath it, No people can ſo bottome their prayers againſt Adverſaries as the people of Gods Holineſſe. To Nations. Pſal. 144. 12, 13, 14. Verſe 15. Pſal. 48. 4, 5. Verſe 3. Deut. 4. 7.

This mercie is a birth-mercie to a people (to hold alluſion to my text) *Iewes by nature*, whoſe parents with *Timothy's* from one to another have been beleevers: And while nationall provocations breake not forth (which onely with God have a *ſeparating and deafning power*) his eare is ready to hear, and his hand to help: *While he ſees not iniquitie in Iacob, nor perverſneſſe in Iſrael* (which muſt be underſtood of nationall out-breaches from God, which after by *Baalams* counſell followed) ſo long *God is among them as the ſhout of a King*, and *there is no ſorcerie or divination againſt them*: A nation *faſt to God* hath *God faſt* to them. 2 Tim. 1. 5. Iſai. 59. 1. Numb. 23. 21. Verſ. 23. 2 Chron. 15. 2.

2. In regard of perſons, for { *Themſelves.* / *Poſteritie.* } To perſons.

For *themſelves*, It is much to be able with the Pſalmiſt to ſay, *Thou art he* For themſelves.

Pſal. 22.9,10. *that tooke me out of the wombe, Thou didſt make me to hope when I was upon my mothers breaſts: I was caſt upon thee from the wombe, thou art my God from my mothers belly.* This puts upon confidence in prayer (as an argument drawn from long continued acquaintance) as there followes: *Be not farre from me,* *Verſ.* 11. *for trouble is neere.* Such have timely knowledge of God, ſucking in ſome-what of him while they ſuck milk from the breaſts: An expreſſion of height ſetting out this Birth-happineſſe, that hath ſure more in it then can be applyed to *ſinners of the Gentiles:* See how the Pſalmiſt yet further pleads it with *Pſal.* 116.16. God: *O Lord, truly I am thy ſervant, I am thy ſervant and the ſon of thine hand-maid.* An alluſion to the Law of ſervants, who were the *inheritance of the* *Exod* 21.4. *Maſter* in whoſe houſe they were borne. I am ſuch ſaith the Pſalmiſt (*thy ſer-* *Levit.* 25.16. *vant, thy ſervant*) with all earneſtneſſe of affection. I am of thine *inheritance*, I am one of thine *houſe-borne ſervants*, my mother was thine hand-maide. The ſame relation he pleades alſo, and in the ſame words, *Pſal.* 86.16. This *Iſai.* 49.1. *Iſaiah* in like manner takes notice of, *The Lord hath called me from the wombe, from the bowels of my mother hath he made mention of my Name.* The Apoſtle will have the Ephelians to *remember that paſt time when they were without* *Epheſ.* 2.12. *Chriſt, being Aliens from the Common-wealth of Iſrael, and ſtrangers from the Covenant of promiſe, having no hope, without God in the world.* There never was a time in which theſe of this Birth-priviledge were in that condition; From the wombe they were Gods heritage, and with *Timothy* (ſome in greater 2 *Tim.* 3.15. ſome in leſſer meaſure) *from children have the knowledge of the Scriptures*, if *Luke* 1.15. not with *Iohn Baptiſt full of the holy Ghoſt from the wombe:* which doubt-leſſe is the happineſſe of not few among Chriſtians, who are eminent in ſanctification, whoſe growth in Grace is ſeene, and yet the beginnings not knowne. Howſoever they are *nigh*, when others are *afarre off*, at the *Iob.* 4.22. *pooles brimme* waiting the *Angels moving of it. Salvation is of the Iewes*, *Iames* 1.21. ſaith our Saviour; They are under the joyfull ſound of that Word *which is* *Luke* 19.9. *able to ſave the ſoule: Salvation is of his houſe who is the ſonne of Abraham.*

In reſpect of poſteritie. As it is full of Conſolation to Beleevers in reſpect of themſelves, ſo alſo in reference to poſteritie: Their children are Gods children: They being of the Lords *Inheritance*, their children are *his heritage* in like manner: *Ezek.* 16.20. Theſe *bring forth children to God, their ſeed be owners and challenges for His:* An infinite love in God, an unſpeakable comfort to a parent, when the In-fant, who by corruption of nature is in Satans jawes, in no leſſe *danger of Hell*, then *Moſes* was of the *water*, and not ſo much as ſenſible of it; God pleaſes to looke upon him in this condition and to make it *the time of love*, and to find out wayes of freedome. What the Apoſtle ſpeakes from the Prophet of Gods care of the *Gentiles*, is certainly true being applyed to *Rom.* 10.20. *Infants. I was found of them that ſought me not, and made manifeſt to them that enquired not after me.* Had we that hopeleſſe opinion of our children as Papiſts of theirs that dye without Baptiſme; what a wretched caſe were it (with *David*) to part with an Infant out of the world? How could ſuch mourne in any other way then thoſe *that are without hope?* parting with an Infant without part in Chriſt, and in no better poſture to-

wards

wards God then the ſeed of the *ſinners of the Gentiles.* But wee finde God *more rich in mercie,* Chriſt himſelfe *embracing them in their infancie,* and taking them into his ſpeciall love as thoſe that beare his name: And though death prevent their *Baptiſme,* He that hath appointed Ordinances is not tyed to them, but can ſave without them. *Bellarmine* confeſſeth that the deſire of *Baptiſme* in one of the *Catechumeni,* (that is, one inſtructed in the Principles of Chriſt and not baptized) doth ſave; though the text, *Iohn* 3.5. underſtood with their Coment be in the Letter againſt it, why then ſhould not that Grace, which when the perſon is of capacitie would ſhew it ſelfe in deſires, qualifie for Salvation in like manner? Finding this *love in God, theſe bowels in Chriſt,* we may ſafely conclude, that Children *have bliſſe,* Parents *have comfort,* and let *God have the Glorie.*

FINIS.

HVLS PILLAR 30.
OF
Providence erected:
OR
The Providentiall Columne, ſetting out Heavens care for Deliverance of that people, with extraordinary Power and Providence from the bloud-ſucking Cavaliers, who had for ſix weeks cloſely beſieged them.

By *T. C.* Miniſter of Gods Word.

ISAIAH 26. 1.

In that day ſhall this Song be ſung in the Land of Judah, *we have a ſtrong Citie, Salvation ſhall God appoint for wals and bulwarks.*

ZECH. 3. 2.

Is not this a brand pluck'd out of the fire.

Imprimatur

CHARLES HERLE.

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march 19 LONDON, 1643.
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To the Reader.

BUt *Where are the nine* (saith Christ.) The Lord longs much to see us after he hath freed us; in our distresse we long for deliverance, and being delivered he longs for acknowledgement. *Deborah* after her victorie awakened her selfe with so loud an instigation, on purpose to awaken others, That she might not returne with the leprous *Samaritan* alone in her acknowledgment. Thus this holy-man, Gods faithfull Minister, and our deare brother, an eye-witnesse: to the great and wonderfull worke done by our God for that beleagured Towne, the deliverance, a mercy he had a share in, and thousands, and our selves: It was the place of refuge to many persecuted and plundered Families, and to ours and his; here were met in one from the two spoiled Counties of *Yorke* and *Lincolne*, of all sorts a great multitude. Here we comfortably enjoyed our peace; here publikely and privately we jointly sought it's peace, of the fruit whereof it is now a partaker from the God of peace. And therfore in all places and ages, that it may be said for *Hull*, what God hath done, as we can do no more, so no lesse then clap our hands, and being of the number of the Lords redeemed ones, cry out and say, *God hath done great things for us, whereof we are glad:* And O let all places be filled with the same glorie.

Tho: Micklethwait.
Philip Nye.
Th: Coleman.

To the Lords diſperſed and ſcattered ones, beloved of the Father in the Sonne, gathered together from divers Quarters and Countries into *Hull*, the Neſt of Gods providence, Grace Divine, and greeting Chriſtian.

IF you beloved the faire and ſtrong hand of heaven hath bin fully manifeſted, at firſt plucking you as a brand out of the fire of the enemies fury, that watched for you where you lived, and now again the ſame hand of heaven hath viſited you with new favour, putting the proud adverſarie by, and cutting his combe, when he was ready to chop you for the pot, in the place where you ſojourned. Remember now Salomons *Scripture,* The Lord was angry with him, becauſe his heart was turned from the Lord God of Iſrael, which had appeared unto him twice. *He has twice appeared marvellous in mercie to you, and look'd upon you as no ſtranger in the place where you were ſtrangers. Remember the day, wherin theſe thoughts tooke you up continually, What ſhall we doe, whither ſhall we goe, what way ſhall we flie, what courſe ſhall we take, that may be pleaſing to God, ſafe for us. And now let me tell you whither you ſhall flie, even unto the Lord with thankfull hearts who hath ſo wonderfully magnified his favour towards you. I have ſeene a failing in the Towne hitherto, as ſecure as if never in danger, as proud as if no matter of humbling, as prophane as if great deliverances did not bring great engagements to holineſſe, as unthankefull, as if not beholding to God, as ſuperſtitious, as if the maſter of Ceremonies, and not the Father of mercies had ſaved them. But doe not you faile too, let the Towne be beholding to you for your prayers and your praiſes, be you their Maſons to helpe to make up the breaches of their walls, their country husbands to amend their hedges, and make up gappes where Gods wrath might breake-in. The Lord give you patient hearts in theſe oppreſſing times and hard charges, and abundance of thankefulneſſe to* Jehovah Niſſi *the Lord your Banner, that both you and the Church of God may be cloathed with the garments of ſalvation.*

Divinæ Providentiæ Sacrum,

THat Indian Iland had ſome reaſon it ſeemes, which put upon it that name of the *Ile of Providence*, the ſpeciall hand of heaven ruling and leading the ſearching adventurers to this place; and bringing them through long labours and hard indeavours to pitch and plant on that ground. And before I have done with this narrative and diſcourſe; I ſhall make it good, that there is ground for the naming of this *Kingſton* or *Hull*, *A Town of Providence*.

Where, as on a Stage of Mercy, Divine Providence has of late acted parts of love, care, power, kindneſſe glorioufly, before, and for unworthie both Spectators and receivers: The Lord hath ſo done his marvellous workes, that they ought to bee had in remembrance of all them that feare him.

If any be ſuch a ſtranger in *Ieruſalem*, as has not heard nor knowne the things, that are come to paſſe in theſe dayes, I will informe him, (to quicken my ſelfe, and others to gratefullneſſe,) how the Lord has heated the furnace of his love, and care for *Hull*, ſeven times hotter then he has done for any towne in *England*. And gladly would I have the Land to take notice of it, becauſe though the Sun riſe in one corner of the Heavens the Eaſt; yet the light, heat and influence of the Sun fills the whole Earth, and cheriſhes every creature. So, though the beſt part of the Kernell of this deliverance falls particularly into *Hulls* mouth, and the people there, both in-dwellers and the Lords ſojourners, yet doubtles it ſends much good influence, & reviving beams into the Goſpells cauſe, now quarrelled for, into the Church, into this Kingdome, into the Parliament, into the armies on foote, for the reſcuing of our Realme, from the pawes of the Lyon, and the beare: the Churches Lyon, that would oppreſſe it with *Antichriſtianiſme*, and popiſh prelacy, and the Common wealths ſavage Beare, that would devoure Truth, juſtice and righteouſneſſe, and leave neither law, nor liberty nor rights, for the Subject, but what muſt come out of the boſome of licentious Atheiſme, where will and power ſhall create Magiſtracy and the acts of it. Now that the Lord hath baniſhed ſuch bloudie

die and cruell Gaolers, which laid upon all that came under their power, iron yoakes and fetters, how can we doe leſſe then ſeeke out the authour of this deliverance, and give him the cordiall and reall acknowledgements of thankefull ſpirits, which either ſpeaking, writing or printing may make knowne to our little world of *England*, leaſt the glory of God, which, of all other things ſhould never know a funerall, and be buried in oblivion, be any way obſcured or ecclipſed. And ſurely if we enquire after the father, and mother, and nurſe of this amiable and comfortable child of ſalvation, which we can never looke in the face, but it makes us ſmile with joy: we can finde none to owne it, but only Providence divine, which has done all. This hath been ſo clearly and manifeſtly ſtirring, from the *Alpha* to the *Omega* of the action, that we ſilence all ſubſervient Miniſters, and miniſtred helpes, as ſtrength, guns, ſwords, munition, care and induſtrie, and onely write God with great letters and figures, and make all other great helpes, to be but as a great cipher without divine concurrence. When we name Providence, as the ſuperintendent and ſupereſficient of all, we underſtand not chance or fortune, the Ethnickes providence, nor that of the Stoickes, who made providence a fortune or fate-telling old-woman, to adminiſter all things, as the univerſall ſoule of the world. But by it we underſtand the ſpeciall care, and love of God towards his, which is at great coſt, and charges of infinite power, fore-ſight and wiſdome, to worke in all and every individuall thing for his people, and having wrought it, to make it again be directed to worke for their good. And if at *Delos* the blind Heathens for ſome conceived bleſſing could erect a Temple and call it, *ναὸς προνοίας*, *The Temple of Providence*: Doe not Chriſtians owe as much to *Jehovah*, as they to their *Jove*? Shall not our *Delos*, our *Hull* be called, *ναὸς προνοίας*, *The Temple of Providence*, where it hath been moſt admirably conſpicuous, and efficacious for deliverance. It is well knowne, how heavenly care did at firſt reſerve this Towne; that at firſt it fell not under the unruly rule of thoſe unworthy Royaliſts, who never thinke they doe any thing royally, but when they make *Rome* bluſh, with being more ſuperſtitious and idolatrous then ſhe is: or when they make beaſts bluſh, with being more ſavage and cruell then they: or make *Pagans* and Heathens bluſh, in being more unjuſt and unhoneſt then they: or make the devill and hell bluſh, to ſee them more zealous and deepe blaſphemers, then they. In theſe actions all their royalty and cavaleriſme conſiſt. What a ſpeciall hand of heaven was that, prevented this Marqueſſe (whom blood not in his owne veines, but bloud plenteouſly ſhed out of all the veines of

Lilius Gyraldus de dijs Gent. Syntag. 16.

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the North, hath raiſed to this title of *Marqueſſe*) from being governor of it at firſt, when his Majeſtie ſent him and offered him for that purpoſe to the Towne. The prevention of ſuch a Hornet, that he was not ſet over his Bee-hive, deſerves our tongues to ſpeake as loud as the *Egyptian Magitians*, and to ſay, this was *Digitus Dei*, the finger of God. For ſay he had bin the reſident ruler here; what an influence of miſchief would he have ſent hence againſt *London*, Parliament, and all the places under the rule of well ordered juſtice and peace? How would this have been the κοπρόπολις, the ſcumme-pot, into which would have been gathered all the living and working villanie or Atheiſme of *Dunkirk*, *France*, *Holland*, *Flanders*, &c. And what Country ſoever would have ſent men-beaſts, that in a mercenary ſouldiarie are willing, to ſell their ſoules in any warre, yea will take the pay of hell, to fight againſt heaven? But bleſſed be the eye of heaven, that watcht, and the hand of heaven that wrought another way, and brought this key of the kingdome to hang at the Parliaments girdle, that they ſhould not be in an hourely feare of this, as of a Northerne *Algiers*, or neſt of Sea and land Pirates. Why is *Newcaſtle* and not *Hull* in their power, a continuall vexation to the good cauſe? There is no reaſon of it, but what lies in Gods breaſt and boſome, ſo he liked, ſo he would have it.

Under Sir *John Hotham* the Lord began to put this Towne, as a ſignet ring on his finger. How did the Lord animate the Governour and his ſmall forces to ſtand unappaled before his Majeſtie, when he comes in his owne perſon, and with all his power he could then make, to demand, nay to command the rendring of the Towne into his power, yet even then God made wormes ſtronger then the Lion, when *Hotham* royally ſtood and feared neither Herald, nor Proclamation, nor the voyce of a provoked King, which is the meſſenger of death. O that this fine gold had never changed! But O the miſery of fooliſh man, made drunke with authority and power! *Hotham* honoured like a King, feared as an Emperour; ſitting in peace, that might have had the Country for the good cauſe wait on his whiſtle; how has he degenerated and foiled all his fair burning light, in ending with a ducking down of the ſocket, breathing at laſt with a vaporous, & ill favoured exit. Time will try, and juſtice will boult out (I fore-judge not, nor anticipate our Judges of this cauſe.) Whether juſtly father or ſon *Hotham*, or both, be guilty of miſcarriages in the North, at *Yorke*, of the Queens entrance uninterrupted, of *Scarboroughs* and *Chomeleyes* baſe Apoſtaſie, of the Weſt crying out of the riſing Sun, and ſaying, all her miſerie came from the Eaſt, where Egyptian reeds did not only faile them, but pierce them,

and

and helpe them to be covered in that Chaos of tyranny, wherein that good and goodly Country now lies low and poor, only rich (besides Gods secret favour) in fulnesse of oppressions and cruelty. I leave these servants to the judgement of their master, who will make their sins appeare as mid-night, or their righteousnesse as mid-day in due time: I know it is indeed thought and said, in relation to *Hotham* and *Cholmley*, that *Scorborough* and *Scarborough* are the springs of most of our misery in the North. Let others say as they please, Gods candle in fit season will seeke out darkest corners. Let the just have his righteousnesse for cloathing, and let the unjust be arrayed with his own confusion, and shame as with a cloake. Proceed we to the change of Governours and see miracles, and great peeces of extraordinary providence in that. In one morning gates, walles, block-houses, armes, men, commanders, guns, ships, all that is called strong, is easily and quickly yeelded to the power of the Towne, no bloud-shed, no soule lies gasping, no streets know streames of bloud, but water, for all this, why, this is wonderfull, friends, kindred, deare ones, in places of trust, yet none resisting, but yeelding up office and power, as being overcome with power and reason for it, or both. So great a thing, so long and strongly setled, so easily altered and turn'd without combustion & broil, would make an Atheist, that saw it, name God and Providence, for that very actions sake. Besides, the enraged Towne, against their suspected Governour, being so calmed into justice, and prudently reserving father and son, to be weighed by the Parliaments ballance, and not precipitately cutting out for themselves, was a speciall favour of God, to honour them with so well a carried businesse. Then loe again the Artifice, and rare working of Architectonicall providence; verily thou art a God that hidest thy selfe O God of Israel the Saviour. At this present, things are thus carried at *Hull*, the noble *Fairfax* is in his Western declination, and *Beverly* is ready to be chopt for the pot, by the assaulting enemy. Marke how the wheele runs. From *Beverly* the enemy is repulsed with shame and losse. But in the West, two or three dayes after, the swarmes of New Castles waspes sting the Armie of the honoured *Fairfax*, there he and his heroick Sonne, after faire hopes loose the day, quit the field (though to the great cost of the adversary) and leave that noblest part of the Country in the hands of the ignoblest men (if inhumanity be ignobility) where as they were bred and principled, so they maintain it, there is no good play unlesse some play the devill in it. How have they imitated that infernall paternity of theirs, by being as cruell and unmercifull to that worthy people, as hell could make them. Then thorough what dangerous pathes and parts of Countries did the Lord bring honored *Fairfax*, and his son, and the remainders of his scattered Army? How did the Lord hard before this sore defeat, make Hull ready for them, whose prayers and longings waited for such a Governour at the gates of heaven? Com-

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pare but the times of these things falling out, that Hul should be made fit to receive a Governour, fit to succour a dispersed people, who fled from a bloudy sword and speare. Let Hull and Western dispersed ones, and the whole kingdome contend about it, which of them has the largest share of fatherly providence in this thing. O the providence is much for us, may Hull say, that we should receive so faithfull and right a Governour in our necessity. It is providence for us may West say, that we should get succour there. It is providence for us, may the whole kingdom say, that so quickly the government was setled there, and though there was so great a wound, yet the Lord quickly prepared a good and great plaister. How deepe is the Lords wisdom in his doings? How can hee strangely, at one and the same time, win and lose, cut and cure, wound and heale, throw downe and raise up his people, and make one and the same cloud both darke and lightsome?

Let the people of God observe it, they never have any notable fall or affliction, but God gives them some notable rise after it, to stand on high ground againe, and to meet with some comfort and blessing succeeding it, of such a depth and latitude, as entered not into their imaginations. And now *Rabshakeh* railes and *Thrasoes* boast, and every βαμβαλοβόμβαξ, now opens his mouth, and laughs to see Christ lie loaden with a crosse in the streets of *Leedes* and *Bradford*. Now the Irish Prelate, the bishop of *Derry*, must turne the Psalmes of *David* into a scornfull Jigge, and must not only abuse the Saints of God, but the Scripture of God. The Ministers pulpit is his stage, which hath bin commonly the May-pole where scorners of Gods Saints have danced themselvs giddy, and there he pretends he will stir them up to give thanks to God, and to God alone, in these words of *David: I will not trust in my bow, neither shall my Sword save me, but thou hast saved us from our enemies*, &c. Ps. 44. 6, 7. But he forgetting his theame, so dotes on his Marquesse, that he must needs make him the bow and the sword, as though he by his care and wise carriage had freed now all York-shire from oppression and from the crushing of the Parliaments friends, and now there was nothing but one poor corner of caitiffs, all sedition and faction now laid gasping within the wals of Hull. Let not Bishops speak of oppression, for they have bin *Pharaohs* most curst task-masters, set up to afflict the Israel of God. Nor let Yorke be the tribunall at this time, to judge the dispersed of Christ, that are met in Hull. After that way, Sr Bishop, which you call sedition, there are such Saints serve God, as the latchet of whose shooes (saving the reverence of your bicorned miter) you are not worthy to loose. Well sedition and faction lies gasping within the walls of Hull; what then? Why then New-castle and his Army must come hither to the funerall of it, if it lie gasping, it will die shortly, and they will be so officious, as to come and close our eyes, and carry us to our grave; or if we be

Si pergã ad acuta rerũ, plus tege lesere rempub. quã loricæ. Tertull de pallio.

be not ſo neare death, they can think of ſuch a thing as this, Come let us kill them that the inheritance may be ours.

About the 4th of September, that goodly Town of *Beverley* fals into the hands of a merciles adverſary; ours beholding their great numbers, and conſidering the ſtate of the Town to be ſuch, as it could not be held againſt them, though our numbers had bin trebled. Wherupon warning is given to retire and leave it, and ſome no doubt were to blame, that left ſome leſſer peeces of Ordnance there, and did not timely convey them away, which they might have done. *Beverley* ſmarted then on all ſides by enemies cruelty, by friends negligence, preſently is the Town made bare and ſtript naked, and compelled to ſpeake largely of the little charity, & mercy of the promoters of the Catholike cauſe, who are *ſemper idē*, inhumane & barbarous. Hard before their coming, one *Buſhell* a kinſman of the infamous *Buſhell* (who is filled with more then four pecks of an Iſcarioticall ſpirit) came with a Tinker, himſelfe acting a bad mettall man with him, to view both Beverleyes and Huls works, having done it, were at length taken priſoners, and found to be bad mettall. Having ſwallowed Beverley they make Hull ready for the dreſſer, and their curſed Cooks made a great fire, hoping this Town ſhould be their roaſt-meat. They begin their ſiege, and have all kind of furies redreſſed with ſnakes to torment us. With them are come, as goads in their ſides, to ſet them on, and as candles in the darke to guide them, the fox-heads, ſubtill, cunning, and buſie ſpirits of Hull, which ſhe had vomited out, whoſe names are in the booke of the generation of vipers, which have watring teeth to eat thorough their mothers bowels. The poor arayed and forced ſouls are made to tugg and worke worſe then the ſlaves at Adrianople, day and night, to raiſe Mounts and Works with turves and baskets, to brew our ruine. It will not be amiſſe, to ſee how God works the deliverance of his people with many croſſe thrids, and makes a ſmooth web in the end of that, which has many knots in the beginning. Whereas at their firſt comming we had a ſpring-tide that might have flown with ſtreams of moleſtation to them, and hindred their works, if ours could have agreed to cut the banks, and lend them ſome ſalt water, yet ſo it pleaſed God to divide the conſults and concluſions of men about it, that this is hindred, and therby they exceedingly furthered, in hopes to warme themſelves at our fire. Nay, when afterward there were found Propoſitions, upon rationall grounds, of daming up the freſh water, ſo as it ſhould over-flow very much to the much annoying of them, it may be to loſſe of all their peeces, and for much comfort to us, out of Town for ground and cattell, for helping them within Towne with ſufficiency of freſh waters; yet it pleaſed the Lord to throw all theſe devices out. Divine providence bids this humane providence ſtand by and ſtep out of the way, that not *Joab*, but *David* might have the name of the day. Humane helpe and induſtrie is good, though oftentimes evil in the abuſe, when men make them vails and curtains to hide the divine face, that

we do not so much see and admire the beauty of it. God thus in one and the same busines weds together our comfort and his glory, even by those things that seem to forbid the banes. Ours had soon after the beginning of the siege, a sallie out with a good number of men upon them in their quarters at Anlabie, they had some intelligence, though it was early in the morning, ours had some prevalence, and our souldiers some were too busie fingring their carriages, and looking after pocketings, so as though we brought divers of theirs prisoners, and some of them were slain, yet we also had some of ours taken, that we might take our selves for our sin, that must needs pick the Lords day morning for such a work, as we being the assaulters, might have well found another day for it. Every night the enemy gets a fresh worke, and with new incroaches and approaches, comes nigher us, so that in the morning we stand wondring, to see what is done that night. In the space of 6 weeks siege, they seem to have so bestraitned us, as there is no hopes of deliverance; but that their hopes and ours are not alike. The Cater-pillars that follow the campe, are invited from York, and those parts, to come, and carry away the plunder of the rich and goodly Town of Hull.

I shall dispatch the particulars of Gods singular providence in the remaining part, to the happy upshot of the busines, by borrowing 15 branches of this salvation, as I find them fitly summed up in a Sermon at the low-Church, on the solemne day of thanksgiving, and celebration of so rare a peece of providence in the fore-noon, *Octob.* 18. being the seven-night after, only putting in some additions of inlargement, as quickning colours to make the picture looke more lively. The text discoursed on, as the bellows to blow up the flame of praise was *Isa.* 25, 9. *And it shall be said in that day, loe this is our God, we have waited for him, and he will save us. This is the Lord, we have waited for him, we will be glad and rejoyce in his salvation.* In which, after many other things the Sermon proceeded to urge rejoyceing in Gods salvation after this manner. We should not only speake of Gods acts, but as the Prophet *David* saith, we should wisely consider of Gods doings, and gather up *ramenta auri*, all the filings and little sparks of gold, because mercies are a singular and rare mettall.

From the 120. Psalm there are 15. Psalms, which are called *Psalmes of degrees*, which it is thought by some are so called, because there were 15. steps or degrees to that part of the Temple, where men were to worship the Lord, on which the sacred Choristers of divine musick sung these 15. Psalms. How ever that were so or no, our Temple of praise has 15. notable steps or stairs, on which we may stand and sing our Psalms of degrees, which have in them contained so many *Hallelujah's* for so many remarkable branches of our salvation. That we may the better take notice of them, let us gather them together and make them faggots of juniper or sweet-wood, to kindle our fire of thankfulnesse.

1. The first branch of this salvation, is the speciall providence of God, in making such

ſuch an union, as ſouldiers, townſ-men, ſea-men, ſtrangers were all united cloſely as one man, to ſtand courageouſly againſt the common enemy; wheras they without did hope there would have bin a diviſion within, and that diviſion would have bin the mother and ſure ſeminary of confuſion and ruine. For dividing and deſtroying commóly go together, as *Pſ.* 55. 9. or are but a very little while parted aſunder, *A kingdome* (a town) *an houſe divided againſt it ſelf cannot ſtand, Divide* and *Impera* come from the braines of the old divident, who ſet up a ſchoole of Arithmetick in paradiſe, and taught the unhappy rule of diviſion betwixt God and man. Diviſion commonly puts an enemy into the Imperative mood. But bleſſed be the God of union, who is but one, and made this people of one heart, and one way in this buſineſſe, though a people as likely to fall into bad peeces as any.

2. A ſecond branch, with ſweet berries growing on it, was the Lords care to give food to his people and preſervation of the mils, which in all probability they might have attempted to beat down, or fire at the firſt, as well as they attempted it at the laſt, by raiſing a work hard behind one of them. Yea though they had pinned us faſt in 6 weeks together, yet the Lord provided better meat then Quailes, and though we had not *Manna* from heaven, yet we had rain from heaven, which ſtood us in very good ſtead, when our freſh water was cut off. So many Beeves and ſheep were preſerved from thoſe great cattel ſtealers, that meat a good while was cheaper in the ſiege then out of it, and I believe the proud enemy in a great part of the Army, would have licked their lips at our fragments. *David* thinks we have good reaſon to praiſe the Lord with our whole heart, even for giving meat to them that feare him. *Pſ.* 111. 1. & 5. verſes.

3. A third branch of ſaving mercy, was in the firing of the North block-houſe blown up in a part, where the powder-barrels and hand Granado's, ill companions being together, and ſome fire coming to that Aſſembly, it blew up with a terrible blaſt, a part of that ſtrong building, yet for all this Gods power and mercy ordered it excellently, the Lord commanding the fire and fury to be within on our ſide and not to the enemies part, that they might have no advantage at all by it. The Lord if he had ſo pleaſed might have made a fearefull rupture by it, and opened a gap for them, which they that were ſo prodigall of mans bloud, would with fury have ſet upon, though it had coſt them a thouſand men. Further when the blaſt in one room had beaten open the window into another, and the flame entered into it, where there were 12. barrels of powder more, and ſome with looſe covers being opened, it pleaſed the divine diſpenſer to ſuſpend the flame, and it reverently held and drew back from ſeaſing upon that powder, which in al likelihood might have done far more harm, both to murthering of more men, and diſmounting the ordnance. Nor did the enemy ſcape in this kind, for they had a magazin blown up and their ſtore of Granado's, which they had provided for us. Ours, as it did us ſome hurt, ſo it did them no good at all. Bleſt be the Lord, for ſo ſpeciall a branch of his ſalvation.

4. When

4. When their great bullets of 35. lb. weight, both roaſt and raw, hot and cold, came ſo faſt and frequently into the Towne, and all over it, they having a great mark to ſhoot at, and likely to ſpeed where ever they fell; yet though day and night they came into ſtreets, houſes, beds, the Lord ſo charmed and charged them, that but 3 were ſlain by them, a man, a woman, and a child. Heaven found ſtrange means, to conjure theſe bullets into quietnes, and ſtop their force. One quarrel'd with a poudring-tub, another ſtuck in paſte, which was a providing for food, and was choked in dough; another drunk it ſelf our friend in a barrell of wine; another burnt the bed-clothes, and ſpared a woman in the bed, ſo as ſhe ſlept ſtill ſoundly and quietly, having ſo hot a bed-fellow, till ſhe was by neighbours wakened and pulled out from the fiery danger. They aimed at our Churches, when we were met together for the word and prayer, yet never hurt any in the Church, going or returning. But in their quarters and at *York* fame rang another peale, of many hundreds ſlain in the town, and divers coming to, and going from the Church. We allow thoſe two Univerſities of lies, the one of *Oxford*, the other of *York*, their poeticall and lying licence. We have found thoſe two *Africaes* alwaies bringing forth monſtrous things, and lies of a prime magnitude. We are begun to thinke, that it may almoſt gain the ſtrength of a proverb, that *York* printer, minter and minſter, (when they print or preach of the Parliaments affairs) ſeldom vent ſmall lies. The ſouldiers complain of their minter, for minting too much falſe mony, and for their minſters Sermons, aiming at our cauſe, they ſmell very little of truth or charitable divinity; and their printed Pamphlets are notorious. Pardon this digreſſion and going out of the way to cudgell a liar.

5. When they were ſo neare, as within reach of Granado's as they truſted, yet we heard but only of 3 or 4 of them, and thoſe were either ſhort or over: where they digged deep into guts of earth, but touched not any man. What would they have done, if the Lord had given theſe hot officers of his anger leave to come into market, Churches, ſtreets, houſes, what terrible marks would they have left of their burning and tearing foot-ſteps.

6. Our iſſuings out proved moſtly ſucceſſull to us, though with ſmall ſtrength, but alwaies hurtfull, to the coſt and loſſe of the enemy, looſing men, and having ſome worke pulled down by ours, they flying as driven away.

7. Our horſe were happily preſerved, and ſafely conveyed into *Lincolnſhire*, when our freſh water & fodder was ſo little, as ſtaying they ſhould have had ſhort commons, and many of them would have periſht being foodles, and all of them would have bin uſeles, becauſe of the enemies propinquity and nearneſſe. God reſerved them for another place, where they were ſerviceable in a glorious victory.

8. When the ſtate of the Town was very depreſſed, and earthly hopes were at a low nepe, our men being few, and worne out with day labours and night-watchings and fightings from their works, there being not ſufficient for number to ma-

nage

nage the works wel, and clothe the wals, if the enemy ſhould approach nearer. In that very nick of neceſſity, God ſent us a competent number of ſouldiers, with that good Commander Sr *John Meldram*, that did exceedingly animate and put freſh ſpirits into our wearied ſouldiers, and very much conduce to our great help.

9. When on a ſudden, a company of their pickt and reſolute ſpirits, with fury and ſtrength had almoſt got one of our beſt works, the weſt jutty, and were in a manner poſſeſſors of it, yet ours flew and diſcomfited them, ſo as divers of them were ſlain, ſome 15. and ſome taken priſoners. The reſt fled away with wounds & ſhame, as full of cold fear, as they came full of ſtrong water, of which the ſlain and taken notably favoured, having fired their ſpirits into a deſperatenes with the ſpirits of hot waters. In all the time God ſo wrought for us, we held the works we had. And this deſerves a finger to point at it, a tongue to praiſe for it.

10. The Lord pared away from the ſtrength of their numerous Army, by a reigning ſicknes among them, by the running away of many, and by diverting a part of their forces into *Lincolnſhire*, that they might be ſomething weaker, and more fit for us to deale with them, though ſtill their numbers did treble ours.

11. Marvellous was the Lord in the prevention of their firing the Town & ſhipping, which they were mad to doe, and confident would be done, either by their wild-fire, or wild bullets glowing hot (they imitating the fiery darts of their father, the wicked one) yet the Lord kept them from lighting on combuſtible matter, or eaſily fire-catching ſtuffe. They were ſo confident of burning us, that they cauſed country people divers times to ſtand on an hill, & promiſed thē with great oaths and damning language, they ſhould preſently ſee *Hull* on a light fire, but God ſent no fire to conſume their ſacrifice in token of acceptation. They are ſerved with the *Germane* proverbe, *Deus non audit felium preces*, God hears not cats prayers to accept them, that is curſes and execrations, more unwelcome to God then the harſh cries of cats. No, when their Apoſtle M. *Thruſcroſſe* (who no doubt is wel-pleaſed that the croſſe is found in his name) ſpeaks of winning *Hull*, he tels them they muſt faſt and pray, or els never thinke to win it: for, ſaith he, you fight againſt a praying people. He fore-ſaw curſes, that come from a tongue and heart ſet on fire of hell, could never ſet on fire *Hull*, and therefore he gave them more ghoſtly counſell. And they report from *Pomfret*, which I annex, that a man, and they name the man, came from that Town towards *Hull*, big with expectation and hope to ſee it on fire, and when he returned he found his own houſing fired. So wiſely and juſtly doth God meet with men in unjuſt and cruell waies. Beſides firing, they were by the ſame providence prevented of blocking up the river, when on *Lincolnſhires* ſide and *Holdernes*, they were begun to make forts, but by ſome of our men landing were driven away, and the fort was razed down.

12. In compaſſe of ſix weeks, all which time they begirt us with that ſtrait and troubleſome girdle of a ſiege, by our ſallyings out, and all their bullets ſallying in

among us, not 60. persons as 'tis thought were slain in all of ours, few or none of note, when 'tis certain of theirs above 2000 are perisht by sword, bullet, sickness and abundance of them fairly tryed their heels and deserted them. Some of their Commanders of note, Lieutenant-Col. *Levinston*, Serj. maj. *Boyard*, Cap. *Knight*, and many others, which they conceale from us in the dark book of secrecy, went to their last bed in the dark chambers of death before *Hull*. Divers of their Captains that had compleat companies went back to *York* with ragged remains of some 9 or 6 of those they carried out thence, and many in great numbers, grievously wounded to make up their black triumph some went with them, and after them others, to adorne their glorious carriages.

13. It was a notable favour of heaven, that such a resolute and couragious spirit was raised in ours, as that they went out, and set upon the enemy, the wednesday 7 night before, being *Oct.* 4. and beat them out of two of their works, slew and took some, and brought in many of their muskets, which they running away left. One of those works they had newly raised behind our wind-mil, which was a very hopefull one for them, and was likely to be very damagefull to us, had it bin let alone but that night. But God was in some sort visible that day, giving ours power to beat those wild and furious cocks on and off their own dung-hill. And that Wednesday was a fairly ominous preface to the next Wednesday, which was voluminous to us in big mercies.

14. Further, when this day of blessings, *Oct.* 11. the day wherein the siege was raised, was well gone on for us, the other gathering much fresh force, came on formidably against ours, insomuch as our souldiers are body and soul for a retreat, and shamefull retire. See now how heavenly providence comes in to succour. Ours were basely timid, and prophecied dangerous things to themselves, from the enemies fresh and full appearance, where one sudden cloud of feare, was likely to be the blacke mantle or curtain, to hide the light of a very hopefull day. Some good spirits of Captains and souldiers were as much tormented with shame, to see so sick a fit upon our armie, as the retreaters were tormented with feare; whereupon some Commanders, and by-standing spectators did earnestly beg and beseech they would turn again and face the enemy, and some of the horse couragiously leading the way, and giving a fresh on-set, it animated the foot, where the *Spirit of the Lord* set up a Standard in their spirits, and they fell on bravely, and out of *weaknes* were made *strong*, *Heb.* 11. 34. and turned the enemy into smoake, which fled before them as driven by the wind, shewing many backs, but few faces against ours, in which backs they see faire printed the adversaries defeat, and their own victory. God so blesses this new assault, that they take from them their great guns, 9. of them, some greater, some lesse, beats them from their strong & great works with very little and small losse of ours, in which great peeces and works many of them trusted, more then in the great God. Our Cap. *Rainsborough* by a mistake was taken, but for him we had many of theirs fell prisoners into our hands. This

This 11. of *Oct.* was a great and glorious day, that ſuch multitudes of men out of many and ſtrong works, from many and great guns ſhould be beaten and driven away by them, that came to aſſault them in the open field, is a rare example of ſucceſſe to the Parlia. battels, and is as notable a peece of pure military valour, as has faln out ſince the beginning of theſe wars. The ſouldiers, that went home by weeping and bleeding croſſe, doe cry out of our ſtratagem to retreat on purpoſe, and then with renewed ſtrength to come and ruine them. Indeed it was a brave ſtratagem and a rare plot, but it was Gods ſtratagem and a plot of providence, which we never contrived nor thought on, till his waking thoughts brought it about. How comfortably did the whole Towne almoſt look over the walles that whole day, and ſee this ſalvation of God?

15. Laſtly, being thus breakfaſted on wednesday, that night they ſup with fears and curſes, and haſty purpoſes of being gone from us. The Lord on a ſudden ſweeps them away, they ſteale away the remaining Ordnance in the night. A *ſpirit of fear* lends them wings to fly, they go away with ſhame, looſe and ſtinging conſciences: So that the ſiege is raiſed, w^h we expected not; the enemy is gone ſuddenly, we lookt not for it. Many of them left their muskets and other weapons in the works, and though it was a very ſore day of rain, yet away they muſt, they dare not ſtay for fair weather. Preſently our ſtate is marvellouſly changed, we heare not of their guns, we receive no more tidings of their fiery bullets, we are deliver'd and yet doubt whether we do but dream of it. How are our fears and foes ſuddenly vaniſht, & we quickly reſtored to walking on freſh ground, breathing in freſh air, having enough of freſh water, & many comforts our enemies had ſtraitned us in? They gave out they raiſed the ſiege, becauſe of the wet weather, & I believe it, for they had ſome caſe-ſhot among them, with ſtore of other bullets; which made that a wet day, though it was very fair, in that it could not but rain good ſtore of bad bloud. God has overcome us and overflown us in our deſires: we looked but for a little, and the ſea of mercy has broke out and drowned us with a deluge and *cataclyſme* of bleſſings.

The Country mourns, yet God made us to laugh. They are impoveriſhed every way in their monies and goods and men: their beſt tables, trees, timber are taken and laid in the ditches by the enemy, to help the conveyance of carriages & ordnance from work to work. Only their haſty and Eagle-ſighted fear has done ſome this kindnes not intended, that they have filled the barns with corn, and in an unkind kindnes (as having no time to threſh it out, to ſell it, or carry it away) have left it for the owners, who finde it, at their repoſſeſſion, gathered to their hands by ſervants whom they never ſet on worke. Nor is this all, God when in his mercy he flows, he overflowes. On the ſame 11th of *Oct.* he gives us a glorious victory in *Lincolnſhire*, as free, fair and full as the moſt have bin got ſince the unhappy hatching of theſe warrs, ſo as that day hath given them an aſtoniſhing blow, that they have ſtaggered ever ſince, & know not on what ground to tread, God following them with ſoul-ſtupifying terrours. Theſe are the full branches of the Lords ſaving providence, the firſt fruits of our expected harveſt in this miſerable country of *Yorkſhire*, where ſome 80 not of the meaneſt Gentry have proved drunke with the Queens cup, full of *Romish* intoxicating ſpice, and have made a mad market-venture of their names, families, eſtates, bodies, ſouls, only to preſerve the Papiſts reliques, and the Prelates miters and damaske coſſocks among us. Now theſe furious *Salamanders* and fanſie-frantick ſpirits, begin to ſee their baſe action may come to end in miſerable paſſion, becauſe they doted on their lady *Mary*, & have forſaken the Lord Ieſus in his cauſe. Take we but theſe 15. acts of grace, put we them together as ſo many letters, & ſee if they do not evidently compoſe theſe 2 words, *Divine Providence*, which ran in & thorow the whole action, & therfore all tongues ſhould ſound *the divine Praiſe*. Eſpecially O thou thou haſt by this day faln into great debt to God, who has taken away thine Aliſtors and Furies

from

from thee. Let thy *Motto* be that of the L. *Boyle* in *Ireland*, as I have heard, *God's Providence is mine Inheritance*. Blesse God from the ground of thy heart, that though they were proudly & audaciously disposing of thy houses, streets, & great mens estates, thus & thus, this to that commander, that to this officer, & gladding themselves with the rich spoils of their presently to be caught prey, yet there is not one of thee to be found in thy town or houses as possessors, but only as prisoners. What a mercy is it, that thou are not filled with that lustfull and lecherous vermin, with that spawn of cruelty, that to their power would destroy souls as well as bodies. Let a Minister of ours of good credit witnes their vertues, who being late their prisoner at *Cottingham*, was carried into a chamber, where an Officer of theirs lay in bed with 2 whors at once, and there was another bed at feet, where another lay with another whore.* Surely *Rome* has need to send out a new Bull, for the comfort and pardon of these beasts. Without doubt this is the only way to maintain *the Liberty of the Subject*, & the *known Laws of the Land*, & those ends go the direct way to set up the *Protestant Religion*. It were well they had grace to purge their hearts, as well as these unholy wayes to purge their reins But God hath given them over *to act all wickednes with greedines and impudency*, so far as they have a *famous whore*, a *minion* to one of their *Lords*, who goes openly among them with her pistols, & bears the name of one that has a troop. All these vertues *Catholick* & *Cardinal* should have bin acted in thy streets & houses o *Hull*, to make thee as miserable a scene as unhappy *York*. Either study *Hallelujahs* & holines al thy daies, & set forward some new act of reformation for thy men & manners, to the honour of God, or els thou art the unhappiest Town, that this day stands upon *English* ground. Set up a royall pillar in the market-place, & in golden letters engrave this deliverance: or set up an holy statue of heavenly purposes in your hearts, to be a more holy Town, lesse proud, luxurious, *&c.* or els by this I testifie to all the land, God has some other scourge for thee, to which he will reserve thee, who has hitherto preserved thee. O that you were wise, that as God has bin Al for you, so you would be somthing more then heretofore for him, or els this great mercy will undo you. Be perswaded to sing the mercies of this day, so long as you have a day. Call it not the souldiers, nor the seamans work, but only the Lords, who only doth wondrous things. When God is found so much a blessed Dative, take heed thou be not a cursed and unjust Ablative, as *Calvin* saith, one *Baldwin* was named for lurching things from his fellows. students.

* This vertuous provost Marshall shewed the whores to him, & told him he did this to vex the round heads, not caring at all, or remembring that it vexes God more.

Calvin epist. in praefat. ad Baldwin.

By this I have endeavoured to lay out in plain colours this large salvation, that the land may know it, and when they heare of extraordinary mercies, they may name *Londons* mercies, *Glocesters* deliverance, and *Hulls* salvation. By this, as a performance of my vows in part, I publish the goodnes of God to me and those with me, that under the shadow of *Divine Feathers* were preserved in the circumvallation of Atheisticall and cruell spirits. And by this let me admonish all the Lords scattered ones, who have found the salutary and saving breathings and blasts of the celestial Zephyrus of special providence, to sal down & say with *Hezek. The living, the living, he shall praise thee, as I do this day: the father to the children shal make known thy truth The Lord was ready to save me, therefore we will sing our songs to the stringed instruments all the daies of our life, Isa 38 19,20* Henceforth let *Cavendish* remember the signs in *Nottinghamshire*, armed with his Armes and Motto, *Cavendo Tutus*. This will be as good a Monitor for setting upon *Hull*, as for them that enter a Tavern or Ale house: & as it is his own, let him betime draw practicall Rules from it. For his shattered and baller-batter'd Army, let them flie to their old Letany, *From Hell, Hull, Halifax deliver us*, and leave out their *God damne me*, for their damnation in hell will be worse then their confusion at *Hull*. Not need they with it, and so earnestly desire it: for S *Peter* saith, the damnation of such sleeps not, and if it did sleep, I am sure this sect of *God damn'd* are likely to wake it, that it shall have but a short sleep. I conclude with a Text for thee O *Kingston* upon *Hull*, comment upon thy deliverance with *Ezra's* words, and with suitable works. *Seeing thou our God hast given us such a deliverance as this, should we again break thy commandements, and joyn in league with the people of these abominations? Wouldst thou not be angry with us, till thou hadst consumed us, so that there should be no remnant, nor escaping?* Admiration was the mother of Philosophy, let it be the mother of your Divinity, in this thing to admire the Lords wonderful mercy, wisdome and power, that did to act and worke for an handfull of his people, whom he might have thrown out of the way, and there could no Judge or Jury have found him guilty of any thing for it, but justice and righteousnes in the action. Wherefore season all your hearts with sense of unworthinesse on our part, and ample apprehensions of goodnes on his part, that the flame within and without, may alwaies keep you in heat with this fire, burning you up with admiration of spirit, and exaltation of God, both in language and life, till you be ready to live and die in *Davids* temper, *Ps 72, 18,19. Blessed be the Lord God, the God of Israel, who only doth wondrous things. And blessed be his glorious Name for ever, and let the whole earth be filled with his glory. Amen and Amen.*

Ἀστάλωτος ἀντὴ ἡ ἐντολὴ
2 Pet. 2. 4.

Exr 9. 13, 14.

FINIS.

(MSS.) Catholics

K

The motives and Reasons occasioning the Catholiq Subjects to take vp armes.

1 It was ploted and resolved by the Puritans of England and Ireland to extinguish quite the Catholique Religion and the professors and maintainers thereof, and to put all Catholiques of this Realme to the Sword that would not conforme themselves to the Protestant Religion.

2 The state of Ireland did publiquely declare they would roote out of the Realme all the Nations and make a totall second Conquest of the Land alleadging they were not safe with them.

3 All Nations here were deprived of the benefit of the ancient fundamentall Lawes Liberties and Priviledges due by all Lawes and Justice to a free People and Nation and were particularly due by the Municipall Lawes of Ireland.

4 That the Subjects of Ireland especially the Irish are thrust out forcibly from their Possessions against and without coulour of Right and could not have propriety or Security in their Estates goods or other Rightes but were wholly Subject to an Arbitrary power and Tyrannicall Goverment, these fourtie yeares past without any hope of Reliefe or Redresse.

Their

5 Theire Natiue youth here debarred by the Partie of State from all Learning and Education in that the onely Vniversitie here excludes all Catholiques neither are they suffred to acquire learning or breeding begond Seas of purpose to make them rude and ignorant of all Lawes.

6 The Catholiques of this Kingdome were not admitted to any dignity place, or offices either military or ciuill Spirituall or Temporall but the same are conferred vpon men of no qualitie who purchase it either for money or Favour and not by merit

7 All the Trading Trafficke, Shippings and Riches of this whole Isle by the Corruption of the State are engrossed by Duties Scottish and English not residing here who excluding the Natiues wholly from the same and who returne the fruict of their whole stocke & come backe into their Native Countrey.

8 All the staple and rich Commodities of the Land are turned to Monopolies and heavy Impositions against Law laid on all Merchandises.

9 The principall Natiue wares of the Land exported into forraigne Countries vnwrought and vnmanufactured thereby depriving the Kingdome of manuall trades and occupations and driving the Natives to furnish themselves from head to foote with Manufactures from abroad at very deare Rates.

10 All

10 All their heavie and unsufferable pressures prosecuted and laboured by the Natives of the Kingdome with much suite expence and Importunity both in Parliament here and in England before his Matie to be redressed: yet could never be brought to any happie Conclusion or as much as hope of Contentment but allwaies de=cluded with delayes.

11 Common Justice and the rightes and Privilidges of Parliament to all the Natives of the Realme, and ancient course of Plantary Proceedings wholly declined.

12 His Ma^tis royall Power, Honour Prerogative, Estate, Revenue and right invaded upon by the Puritan Faction in England

13 The Government of all his Realmes his queene Children and Family usurped by y^e Parliam^t of England and especially by the House of Comons as likewise the no=minating and disposing of his priny Counsel, Judges, Clergy, officers Navies Forts and Castles arrogated by the House of Comons, leaving his Highnes nothing but the bare name of a King.

14 The many affronts and wrongs done by the Said House to the Embassadours of forraigne Princes confederate of his Maties residing in England, and to their Chaplains and Servants against the Condition of the league and the law of Nations.

15 The

15 The grosse Injuries and Scandall given by the House of Commons to the Queenes Maties and her Chaplains Servants in breach of the Artikles made upon the Marriage.

16 The manie horrid Murthers Robberies Pillages Waste Burnings, and other Execrable Cruelties perpetrated of late by the Protestant Army heere, by publique direction of the State of this Realme upon his Maties good Subjects of the English pale and other parts of the Land, they not offending against the lawes or Peace of the Realme but meerely standing upon their owne defence and this done them against his Maties pleasure and without his privity.

17 All the Natives and the English plantations of this Realme were disarmed by proclamation, and the protestant plantations armed and tied by Condition of their plantations, to haue Armes and to Keepe certaine numbers of Horse and Foote continually upon their Lands by wch advantage many 1000s of the Natives were expulsed out of their possessions and many hanged by martial law without cause and against the lawes of this Kingdome and many of them otherwise destroyed and made away by sinister meanes and practise.

Halfe.

Halfe this Realme was found to belong vnto his Matie and his ancient Demeasne and Inheritance vpon old fained Titles of 300 yeares past, by Judgts against law their Evidence and Conscience who were corrupted to find the said Titles upon promise of parte of those lands so found for the King, or other Rewards, or else were drawne thereto by threats of the Judges of the Circuits or by heavy fines Mults and censured of pillory Stigmatizing and other like cruell and vnusuall punishment.

The Oath of Association taken by the Catholiques of Ireland.

Whereas the Roman Catholiques of this Kingdome of Ireland have beene enforced to take Armes for the necessary defence and preservation as well of their Religion vowed and resolved to be quite suppressed by the Puritan faction as likewise of their Estates and liberties and also for the defence and safeguard of his Maties royal person and prerogatives and right invaded vpon and for ye its requisite there should be an vnanimous consent, and reall vnion betweene all the Catholiques of this Kingdome to maintaine the forces and strengthen them against their adversaries. Its thought fitt by them that they

y and

and whosoever shall adhere vnto their partie should for the better assurance of their fidelity and constancy of the publiq ~~good~~ cause take the ensuing oath.

The Oath of Association

I L. B. do promise vow & make protestation before God and his Angels of my Allegiance to my Soveraigne L K Charles and to the Heires of his Bodie and Queenes of England: and that I will maintaine his and their iust prerogatives Honour Estate and rightes ye power and Privilege of Parliamt and all the ancient and fundamentall lawes of England now of or within this Realme so farre forth as they are not contrary or againt the Romane Catholique Religion and do further promise vow and protest before God and his Angels that I as a Confederate and associate to the rest of the Confederate Catholiques of this Kingdome will by all lawfull meanes maintaine vphould and defend to my power the free exercise of the said Religion through this Kingdome; as also the liues iust liberties Possessions and Estates of this Kingdome who have or shall take this oath and performe the Contents

therevnt

thereof with men Money and other provision as it shall be reasonably required from Time to Time by the said Catholiques Confederates: and moreover I will ioine with the same confederates in any lawfull way that shall be agreed one by them to free this Kingdome and Nations from the oppressions and cruell Government of the now states and officers of this Realme and from the Designes or Attempts of all others that have plotted the Destruction of the Romane Catholique Religion within this Land or the professors thereof; and this Oath and protestation and every parte thereof I do take freely sincerely and heartily in the litterall Sence without any Equivocation or Mentall Reservation and shall not for any cause respect or pretence relinquish this promise vow or protestation So helpe me God & the Holy Gospel

The Meanes to reduce this Kingdome to Peace and Quietnes.

This Kingdome being for the most part composed of Divers ancient Irish and English families the Irish having upon the first coming of the English into Ireland without Stroake striving voluntarily submitted vnto ye ...

the Goverm.t of the Kings of England do glory that his Ma.tis Ancestors and first predecessors is of there owne Blood and take pleasure & delight and a Conscionable pride to be ruld and commanded by him and likewise the ancient English being Colonies setled here upon the first conquest of this Kingdome (if conquest it may be called Justly) have ever since continued here and by their faithfull Endeavour sealed with their Blood have maintained & preserved themselves and this Kingdome their natturall obedience to their Kings being all extreamely grooved with the Indignities offred to their Prince whom they naturally and passionately affect and being all greived to see and observe the Gates of his Merc and Goodnes forceably shut by violence against his Catholique Subjects may be nevertheless reduced to peace upon the graunting and confirming to them in Parliament of the Conditions following if the same be consented to before Bloud-letting make matters irreconcileable.

1 That a

1. That a free and generall Pardon without exception be granted to all his Maties Subiects of this Kingdome and that in pursuance thereof and strengthening the same an Act of Assosiation may passe in Parliament heere.
2. That all markes of Nationall Distinction betweene English and Irish may be abolisht and taken away by Act of Parliament.
3. That by severall Actes of Parliament to be respectiuely passed here and in England it be declared that the Parliam^t of Ireland hath subordination to the Parliam^t of England but that the same hath in it selfe supreame Iurisdiction in the Kingdome as absolute as the Parliament of England there hath.
4. That the Acts of 10° Hen: 6^t 7th commonly called Poinings Acte and all other acts repounding of explaining the same may be repealed.
5. That as in England there passed an Act of Triennial Parliament there may passe another for Sexennial Parliament here.

6. That since the Kingdome since St Patrickes time continued constant in the Catholique Religion and the same was onely professed in his Maties Dominions vnto the Change happened in Henry the eight his time vpon occasion knowne though not fit to be repeated and since that Religion is professed by the most Learned Divines throughout the most considerable parts of the Christian World and was never condemned but was allwaies affirmed by all oeconomicall counsells and that the same is most consonant to the Monarchique Goverment (wch the opposites of Catholique Religion, as experience sheweth in all and everie our neighbouring Countries industrously labour to dissolue destroy and beate downe) it may be enacted by Parliament. That the Acts of the 2d of Queene Elizabeth in Ireland and all other Acts made against Catholiques or Catholique Religion since the 20th of Hen: 8th may be repealed. 8 9

7 That the Bishoprickes Deaneries and all other spirituall promotions of this Kingdome and all Friers and Numeries may be restored to the Catholiq Honours and that the Impropriations of Tithes may likewise be restored and that the Citty Ambits, & precinct of the Religious houses of the Monkes may be restored 10

to

to them but as to the residue of their Temporall possessions its not described to be taken from the present proprietors but to be left to them vntill that God shall otherwise incline their owne heart.

8 That such as now are intituled Arch Bishops Bishops Abbots or other dignitaries in this Kingdome by Donation of the Pope may during their lives retaine their Spirituall promotions w.th protestation nevertheless and other fitt clauses to be laid downe for preservation of his Ma.ties Right of Patronage First Fruites and to part in manner and quantity as now his Ma.tie receiveth benefit thereby,

9 That all Protestants English & Scott, may enjoy the free libertie & use of their Consciences here and shall not contribute to the maintenance of Catholique Parson Vicar or Curate, but shall maintaine their owne Ministers at their p.per charge and that all Irish Catholiques may enioy the like Priviledges in England and Scotland.

10 That it may be lawfull for all Catholiques in this Kingdome to found & Inow Colledges in the same as well for teaching and training of youth as otherwise they taking an Oath of Fidelity to the King.

11

11 That for the training of the Gentry of this Kingdome in the common laxes thereof Innes of Court and Chancerie may be erected founded and indowed and such Catholique Natives of this Kingdome as goe to reside or study in any place College Innes of Court in Chancery in England may enioy there without molestation the libertie of their Conscience.

12 That an act of Parliam^t. may passe here for securing the libertie title to their severall estates against the Crowne upon any Title acrued unto it before 60 yeares or under Coulour p^r text of the present Commotions.

13 That all Inquisitions taken since 1634 to intitule his Matie to Connaught, Thomont, Ormond Ellioganty Killomanaugh, Duhere Wickloe Idvogh and Vone, may be varated and their Estates served according to his Maties late Graces.

14 That all plantations made since 1640 may be avoided by Parliam^t. if the Parliam^t. should hold this Act Just and their Possessions restored to those or their heires from whom the same was taken

they

they nevertheless answering to the Crowne their Rents and Services proportionably reserved upon the Undertakers.

15 That the Transportation of all the Natives Commodities to all places of the world in Peace with his Matie may be lawfull his Customes first paid and that the Stat: of the 10 H: 6 & 13 of Queene Elizabeth to restraine the Exportation of Native Commodities may be totally repealed.

16 That all p^fferments Ecclesiasticall or Civill or Marshall in this Kingdome that lie in his Ma^tys guift may be conferred on Natives of this Kingdome by his Matie as he shall thinke fit without any distinction of Religion provided allwaies that upon the Princes of his Blood of England he may bestow what places of Comand he shall thinke meete.

17 That a Marshall and Admirall of this Kingdome may be created in it to have perpetual Suppression therein with the same preheminence, Authority and Jurisdiction as they respectively have in England and that the said places be ever conferred on Noble men natives of this Kingdome.

18

MVSEVM BRITANNICVM

18 That there may be trained Bands in all Cities, Townes Corporations and Countreyes of this Kingdome, armed and provided at the charges of the severall Counties Cities and Townes and commanded by the natives of the same who shall be named by the Counties and cities respectively

19 That his Matie may release all tenures in Capite and by Knights Service in consideration whereof hee shall receive a setled Revenue of 12000^lb p. Annum being double the summe which he received. Casually by them relife primer, seasure licence of Alienation and Aide neverthelesse to remaine.

20 That all Monopolies be ever taken away by Acte of Parliament.

21 That new Corporations that have not the fare of corporate Townes and were erected to game voices in Parliam^t may be dissolved and their votes taken away and that hereafter none shall be admitted to voyce. That there may be an Agent chosen in Parliam^t here, or otherwise as shall be thought meete so qualified to attend continually his Matie in Court to represent the Grievances of this Nation that he may be removeable by such as chose him, and in case of Death or removall others may be successively substituted in that place and that such Agent may enjoy the Freedome of his Conscience in Court and everie where else

Feby 1643 Imedially after y^e

Casalian